THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

FROM THE

ACCESSION of JAMES I.

TO THE

REVOLUTION.

VOL. VIII.

By CATHERINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

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ACCESSION OF JAMES I.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

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THE shameful desertion of the popular interest, and the entire abandoning of all sentiment and principle to motives of policy, had not secured to the marquis of Hallifax, the object of his ambition in the unrivalled possession of the king's favour and confidence. The duke of York maintained an absolute ascendency in the cabinet; and, by his influence, the earl of Sunderland, for whom, on account of a long rivalship, the marquis of Hallifax had a personal aversion, and Laurence Hyde, now created earl of Ann. 1683.

Ann. 1683. Rocheſter, had ariſen to a conſequence in the king's counſels, altogether incompatible to the views and pretenſions of Hallifax, who always affected to be conſidered as the ſole miniſter. The duke of Monmouth, who had been very ſerviceable to the marquis, in removing prejudices which the king had entertained in his diſfavour, and who had been afterwards, on motives of policy, very injuriouſly treated by him, was now conſidered as the only ally by whoſe perſonal influence a balance could be formed in the cabinet, againſt the predominating power of the duke of York. The retreat of Monmouth, after long enquiry, was diſcovered by Hallifax, and a correſpondence immediately took place, by which Monmouth was prevailed on to ſend a letter to the king, which had been previouſly penned by the marquis, and which was written in a ſtrain of acknowledgement, ſubmiſſion, penitence, and promiſes of amendment, calculated to produce the intended effect. The king, either from motives of returning tenderneſs, or with the intention of rendering Monmouth inſtrumental in his farther deſign on the lives and credit of the popular party, conſented to an interview, in which the duke of Monmouth was graciouſly received, and directed to write another letter in the ſame ſtyle as the former, but in which the duke of York's anger was to be mollified by perſonal compliments, and perſonal ſubmiſſions. It was at length determined that Monmouth ſhould ſurrender himſelf; and, in order to ſpare him the mortification of witneſſes to thoſe ſubmiſſions which were required, he was left alone with the king and duke. What paſſed in this interview, it is impoſſible to aſcertain, becauſe the aſſertions of the two parties are totally oppoſite to each other; but the king made ſo ungenerous a uſe of the conceſſions he had exacted from his ſon, as to call an extraordinary council, to whom

Duke of Monmouth ſurrenders himſelf, and receives a pardon.

Policy of the king.

whom he declared, that the duke of Monmouth had ſhewn himſelf very ſenſible of his crime in the late conſpiracy; had made a full declaration of it; had expreſſed an extraordinary penitence; had made a particular ſubmiſſion to his royal highneſs; and that, at his royal highneſs's deſire and intreaty, he had granted him his pardon. Ann. 1683.

THIS mortifying declaration was rendered yet more public through the medium of the Gazette: the proſcribed party took the alarm; ſhame and indignation filled the breaſt of Monmouth. He had been promiſed that nothing ſhould be required of him but what was ſafe and honourable; he had been told that the demanded ſubmiſſions were only to pleaſe and blind the duke of York; he had been exempted from the ignominy of becoming an evidence againſt his partizans; and he had been flattered from the manner in which his ſubmiſſions and confeſſion had been taken, that no other uſe was to be made of them, than to effectuate a reconciliation with the duke of York. To theſe provocations the king declared, that Monmouth had confirmed all which Howard had ſworn: Monmouth denied that he had ſaid any ſuch thing, and added that lord Howard was a liar and a rogue. To prevent the advantages which the party might receive from this counter-declaration of Monmouth, it was publiſhed in the next Gazette, that the king had pardoned him on his confeſſing the plot. The marquis again interpoſed as a mediator: he preſſed Monmouth to paſs over theſe affronts, and to impute it to the importunity of his enemies, and the king's eaſineſs; he repreſented that the laſt day of the term drew near, in which all the priſoners were to be diſcharged, according to the act of Habeas Corpus; that ſuch diſcharge would manifeſt that he had diſcovered nothing to their

Ann. 1683. prejudice; and conſequently that all diſcourſes concerning his confeſſion and diſcoveries would vaniſh in a few days. Monmouth was far from being convinced by the power of theſe arguments; but he had the prudence to conceal his reſentment, till his pardon was paſſed, after which he publicly denied that he had confeſſed one tittle of the pretended plot. This conduct of Monmouth not only defeated the purpoſes of the court, in regard to the lives of the priſoners; but expoſed the mean arts of the cabinet, and rendered the plot yet more problematical than it had hitherto been conſidered by the public. A council was called, to debate on this untoward circumſtance, in which the duke of Ormond propoſed that the duke of Monmouth ſhould be directed to put ſomething in writing, which might ſtand as a witneſs on record, againſt his future contradictions. On this occaſion, the marquis of Hallifax gave his pupil many inſtructions on the ſubject of thoſe refinements in conduct, which had been ſo prejudicial to his own virtue and reputation, and which the cunning man is ſo apt to conſider as marks of a ſuperior underſtanding; but which will be always found defective of thoſe happy conſequences, which muſt ever attend plain dealing, plain honeſty, and plain ſenſe. He importuned him to write a letter to the king, acknowledging that he had confeſſed the *plot*; plot he ſaid was a general word, which might ſignify as little as a man pleaſed: there certainly had been dangerous conſultations, which might be properly called plots, and the ſervice which he might do his friends by ſuch a general letter, and by gaining the king's heart upon it, would quickly balance the ſeeming prejudice which ſuch a general acknowledgment would bring them under, and which could do them no hurt. By ſuch arguments as theſe, and perhaps more by the importunities of his wife, who held a high place

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in the duke of York's favour, Monmouth was prevailed on to ſend a paper to the king, which, on the firſt peruſal, gave ſatisfaction to his Majeſty; but when it came to be debated in council, objections were ſtarted by the duke of Ormonde The letter, he ſaid, was rather a juſtification of the plot than otherwiſe; and the king was told that it was a great affront to his underſtanding, to attempt to impoſe on him in ſuch a manner, for there was no plain confeſſion of any conſpiracy, and the man who drew it up had wit enough to know that it was ineffectual, and would do more harm than good. On theſe objections of the duke of Ormond, the paper, which is ſuppoſed to have been drawn by the marquis of Hallifax, was materially corrected with the king's own hand: it acknowledged in plain and direct terms, that Monmouth had confeſſed the conſpiracy, and that the perſons who had ſuffered, had been condemned with juſtice. Monmouth, on ſeeing the paper, made his exceptions; but at length was prevailed on by the king, and by aſſurances that it ſhould never be produced againſt Hampden, to copy the corrected paper and ſign it. Ann. 1683.

Monmouth had no ſooner been guilty of this weak act than all its dreadful and ſhameful conſequences appeared in their ſtrongeſt colours: he recollected that Hampden's preſent ſituation was ſimilar to that in which Sidney had ſuffered; and that a paper of much leſs conſequence than the paper he had juſt ſigned, had been uſed as an inſtrument to his deſtruction. He conſidered himſelf as ſtanding in the ſame light to the public and to his party, as that infamous nobleman the lord Howard; and ſtung with the reproaches of his friends, and the keen feelings of ſelf-condemnation, he ran in an agony of paſſion to the king, and in a manner extorted from him the

Ann. 1683. the paper, which was to have held him out to the world as one of the meaneſt as well as the wickedeſt of men. Among the expoſtulations which paſſed between the father and the ſon, on this very intereſting ſubject, the king told Monmouth, that if he did not yield in this point, he would ruin him; but Monmouth ſtill perſiſting with an increaſing warmth in his importunities, the king yielded the point, but in terms of ſuch diſpleaſure, as to call his ſon a blockhead, a beaſt, and a diſhoneſt fellow. Monmouth was immediately diſmiſſed the court, a copy of the letter was entered on the council books, and, contrary to the king's ſolemn promiſe, a ſubpœna was iſſued, to force him to give his teſtimony at the trial of Hampden. Monmouth, rather than appear as an evidence againſt his friend, fled the country; and retired to Flanders, where he was highly careſſed by the marquis of Grana, the governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands. He ſoon after removed to Holland; and, notwithſtanding all the duke of York's remonſtrances to his ſon-in-law, he was well received, and continued to be kindly treated by the prince of Orange; and from this period, the States of the United Provinces became an aſylum for all the Engliſh refugees, whoſe conduct in any reſpect had ſubjected them to the rage of the domineering faction in England.

Monmouth flies the kingdom.

Proſecutions. THAT Hampden might not eſcape the vengeance of the court, on the flight of the duke of Monmouth, the manner of the indictment for high treaſon, in compaſſing the king's death, was changed into an indictment for a miſdemeanor, in conſulting to raiſe a rebellion; and tho' it is contrary to the whole tenor of the law, to ſet forth the ſame offence under two ſeveral deſcriptions, and conſequently Mr. Hampden was either legally innocent, or legally guilty of treaſon,

yet the attorney-general had the aſſurance to allege that the king had choſen this milder way of proceeding, that the defendant might have all opportunities to clear his innocence, by the aſſiſtance of council, and the admitting his witneſſes to give in their depoſitions upon oath, and alſo in order to ſilence the clamours of the faction, who had accuſed the government of laying his accomplices under great hardſhips, for the want of theſe advantages. The detail of lord Howard's evidence, was in general the ſame as that which had been delivered againſt Ruſſel and Sidney; only it is worth notice, that lord Howard, who had now, in all probability, obtained his pardon, and conſequently was no longer under the influence of fear, could not recollect one word of thoſe two long ſpeeches of Hampden's, which he had narrated in his evidence, againſt his friend and patron Sidney, although his memory had been refreſhed by the peruſal of a copy of his original informations, which had been delivered him out of the paper-office. The chief juſtice, who had boaſted, that no man in his office had ever rendered unto any king of England ſuch ſervices as he had done, in making it to paſs for law, that the ſubjects may be tried by a jury, not conſiſting of freemen, and that one witneſs, with any concurrent circumſtance, ſuch as the purchaſe of a knife, is ſufficient to convict any man of treaſon, was determined not to ſuffer his high reputation to be in any degree diminiſhed by the eſcape of Hampden, and conſequently his behaviour was equally violent, equally irregular, and equally brutal, to that in which he had in ſo ſingular a manner diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the trial of Sidney. Accordingly, when the council for the defendant would have produced a witneſs, to depoſe that the earl of Eſſex had ſo mean an opinion of lord Howard, that it was not likely he ſhould ever mix with him

Ann. 1683.

Dalrymple's Memoirs.

Sydney's apology.

Ann. 1683, him in conſultations of ſo delicate a nature, as thoſe which had been depoſed to the court, the chief juſtice, not only refuſed to admit the evidence of a third perſon, but moſt ſavagely added, that it ſeemed the earl had ſuch an opinion of lord Howard's evidence, that he cut his throat upon it; and in his charge to the jury, he exhorted them to bring the defendant in guilty, otherwiſe they would diſcredit all they had done before. The jury, without heſitation, followed the directions of the bench, and the court ſet a fine on the defendant of forty thouſand pounds damages, though but fifteen thouſand pounds bail had been demanded for the treaſon. Hampden was committed to priſon, till the fine was paid, and till he ſhould find ſureties for his good behaviour during life.

The ſame ſpirit of perſevering cruelty, the ſame meaſure of illegal oppreſſion, the ſame mean artifices, the ſame enſnaring conduct, the ſame laying in wait for blood, which were ſo conſpicuous in the proſecutions of the firſt priſoners, were equally manifeſt through the whole courſe of the proceedings of the government, and the conduct of the courts of law, againſt every individual who had been charged with having a part in the conſpiracy. Halloway was a merchant of Briſtol, who had engaged in a deſign of eſtabliſhing a linen manufactory in England, and had proceeded in it with ſome ſucceſs. He was afterwards obliged to deſiſt from the undertaking, by the connivance of the Engliſh government to the importation of French linens; and it was in the courſe of his ſolicitations for an act of parliament to ſupport him in this new branch of manufactory, that he entered into the ſociety of patriots, and was prevailed on to become an adventurer for the liberties of his country. He had been twice

twice taken after Keiling's diſcovery, and had twice made his eſcape, an outlawry was iſſued againſt him, after which he was ſeized in the Weſt Indies, by the treachery of his factor, and was, by Sir William Stapleton, remitted a priſoner to England. This unhappy man was induced to ſeek mercy, by a voluntary confeſſion of all he knew: he acknowledged that he had heard of a project for a riſing in the year 1682; he acknowledged that three perſons had undertaken to diſpoſe Briſtol to a revolt; he declared he had an intimation of the aſſaſſination from Weſt and Rumſey; and he ſignified that the general deſign of an inſurrection, after the flight of the earl of Shafteſbury, had fallen under a new direction, viz. of the earl of Eſſex: but as the firſt project for the riſing, according to the confeſſion of the priſoner, had been mere matter of talk, for the ſpace of nine months; as the aſſaſſination had only been mentioned by Weſt and Rumſey, who named only the two Rumbolds and Goodenough, as aſſociates; as the general deſign under the new direction, hung ſo long in ſuſpence, that thoſe who waited for the word of command, thought it abſolutely neceſſary to undertake for themſelves; as Briſtol had been ſo little taken care of, that not above three perſons had undertaken to diſpoſe the inhabitants to a riſing, the whole amount of the confeſſion fell ſo ſhort of the pompous accounts, ſet forth in print by royal authority, and declared by the judges from the bench, that the court affected to conſider it as an inſincere one; and, as the priſoner had too little invention, too ſmall a proportion of fear, or too much honeſty, to ſet forth ſuch a luxuriant narration as lord Howard, the court determined he ſhould die, in order to juſtify former proceedings; and to ſhew that they were yet of opinion, that a moſt damnable, dangerous, and helliſh conſpiracy, had hung over the kingdom, and had Ann. 1683.

Ann. 1683. only been prevented from taking effect, to the ruin or maſſacre of all loyal ſubjects, by the ſpecial interpoſition of divine Providence.

THE treachery of law in the courts of juſtice, has been one of the moſt fruitful ſources of our hiſtorical obſervations, through the whole reign of Charles the Second; but ſurely the moſt ſolemn farce that ever diſgraced the name of mercy, was exhibited in the King's Bench, on the ſubject of this unfortunate merchant. On his being brought into court, he was told by the chief juſtice, that nothing remained but to make a rule for his execution; but then the attorney-general gave him to underſtand, that, as a matter of grace, the king was willing to wave his outlawry, and admit him to a trial. On this inſult the priſoner was ſurpriſed into a declaration, that he could not undertake to defend himſelf, for he had confeſſed, before his majeſty, many things contained in the indictment; and he therefore threw himſelf on the king's mercy. On this juſtice Withins called on the aſſembly, to take notice of the priſoner's open confeſſion; and added, ſurely there are none but will believe this conſpiracy, after what this man has owned: and the lord chief juſtice, not to be wanting in his ſhare of the interlude, obſerved, that whereas, Sir Samuel Bernardiſton had in his letters called the *plot*, a ſham *plot*, and ſaid it was loſt, unleſs it was to be found among the abhorrers and addreſſers, he might now let his correſpondents know, that it was to be found among the reformers of government and religion; who could ſwallow all things, could kill kings, levy war, and do the worſt of villanies, to promote religion and reformation. After theſe unfair advantages had been taken, to blacken and miſrepreſent,

repreſent the perſecuted party, the ſcene cloſed with the appointing the day for the priſoner's execution; who, according to his own account, was yet flattered, till the arrival of the fatal period, with the hopes of the king's mercy, in the intention of getting as much out of him as was poſſible, or rather extorting, through the influence of fear and hope, a confeſſion more agreeable to thoſe repreſentations which had been ſet forth by authority. However, the priſoner continued, to the laſt, to adhere firmly to the relation which he had frankly given to the court; he profeſſed at the place of execution, that he had made all the diſcoveries in his power; he ſolemnly affirmed, that the plot he was acquainted with, was not againſt the king's life, but only to ſecure thoſe who were guilty of the popiſh plot, and who were enemies to the privileges and liberties of the ſubject. He obſerved the partiality which was evident in managing this plot, different from what had appeared in managing the popiſh plot; and that the ſame men who were called rogues, when they ſwore againſt papiſts, were looked on as honeſt men when they ſwore againſt proteſtants. He intimated, that thoſe apprehenſions of popery and arbitrary power, which had actuated the conſpirators in their conſultations, were not without grounds; and, in all his anſwers to the ſheriffs, who harraſſed him with many enſnaring queſtions, he anſwered them with a propriety and temper, which manifeſted his conſtancy of mind, and did honour to his abilities. He underwent the ſentence of the law with a decency and compoſure becoming the part he had acted in the preparatory ſcene; and, in his laſt ſpeech, which was publiſhed after his death, he expreſſed a very deep ſenſe of religion. Ann. 1683.

Execution of Halloway.

Ann. 1683.

Of Sir Thomas Armſtrong.

SIR Thomas Armſtrong was among the liſt of outlaws. He had fled for ſanctuary to Leyden; but, by the means of a bribe of five thouſand gilders to the bailiff of the town, and a fatal omiſſion, in claiming the rights of nativity, for Armſtrong was born at Nimeguen, he was put into the hands of Chudleigh, the Engliſh envoy, and ſent to London. From a more than common dejection of mind, which the priſoner had ſhewn, whilſt he was managing his eſcape from England, and from his having led a remarkably vicious life, for he had been admitted to the firſt rank among the king's boon companions, it was hoped, that he would make important diſcoveries: but, to the great diſappointment of the ſtate politicians, when he was examined before the council, he ſaid, he knew of no plot, but the popiſh plot; and only deſired that he might have a fair trial for his life. This, it is to have been imagined, would, on motives of policy, have been granted, if the evidence againſt lord Ruſſel had, in the opinion of the court, been ſo ſtrong and full as they thought proper to repreſent it; for Armſtrong was ſaid to have been one of the perſons who had undertaken to view the guards; and Rumſey and lord Howard had gone far in their endeavours, to make him a principal in the ſcheme of aſſaſſination: but even in the preſent ſtate of juries, it was not thought adviſeable to repeat thoſe experiments on the laws, which muſt put every thinking man in mind of the deſtruction they had made in perſonal ſecurity; and that trial, which was granted to Halloway, becauſe his own confeſſion was a ſufficient evidence againſt him, was refuſed to Armſtrong, becauſe no ſuch evidence had been procured. And though a ſtatute of the ſixth of Edward the Sixth, is expreſs, that if an outlaw comes in within the year, he is to have a trial, notwithſtanding his outlawry, the chief juſtice Jeffries, with

his

his uſual effrontery, denied the priſoner's claim, on the pre- Ann. 1683.
tence, that the ſtatute extended to thoſe who came in on their own accord. However, being aware that the ſeizure of the perſon, muſt in equity be ſuppoſed the accident which prevented him from coming in; and that the law makes no ſuch diſtinction, becauſe, were it allowed, the proviſo might be fruſtrated at the inſtant the party was proceeding to qualify himſelf as directed; he, with a yet higher degree of brazen injuſtice, denied the priſoner's demand of counſel; alledging, there was no need of counſel in ſo clear a caſe: and when Armſtrong inſiſted that the ſtatute was plain, he replied with his uſual ſavage inſolence, ſo it is very plain that you can have no advantage from it. The priſoner now referred to the offer which had been lately made to Halloway; adding, that his caſe was quite different, being certain of his innocence: he was anſwered, that the offer made to Halloway was the grace and mercy of the king; but that, according to law, the execution muſt be awarded upon the outlawry. In the midſt of this dialogue an incident happened, which affected every breaſt not ſteeled by a conſtitutional inſenſibility, by intereſt, or party malice: a daughter of the priſoner, who was preſent in court, overcome with a ſenſe of her father's danger, and irritated with the apparent injuſtice, by which ſhe was to be deprived of paternal protection, broke out into theſe paſſionate expreſſions: "My lord, I hope you will not murder my father, this is murdering a man." And, when the chief juſtice, with a paſſion unbecoming any other man, ordered her to be committed; ſhe, with an accent which ſpoke the agonies of her ſoul, exclaimed, "God Almighty's vengeance light on you." The priſoner had now the mortification to ſee his beloved and afflicted daughter

carried

Ann. 1683. carried off by the marſhal, whilſt Jeffries took occaſion to declare on the ruffle this affecting incident had occaſioned, that he thanked God that he was clamour-proof. The attorney-general, to take off from the minds of the aſſembly thoſe impreſſions which an indecorum ariſing from filial piety, rendered frantic by deſpair and injury, had occaſioned, began to inveigh againſt the priſoner, as a man who deſerved not that indulgence and mercy which had been ſhewn to Halloway; for, he ſaid, there was full and clear evidence that he was one of thoſe who had actually undertaken, on the king's haſty return to New-market, to cut him off by the way; and that beſides, when he was taken beyond ſea, letters of communication with foreign miniſters and others, were found upon him. The attorney-general was running on in this manner, when he was ſtopped by the more crafty Jeffries, who undoubtedly recollected, that theſe circumſtances, if true, were arguments for a trial in order to produce legal proof; he therefore intimated that the outlawry, and not the evidence, was now before the court; and he recurred to his firſt deciſion, that yielding upon force was not yielding upon the ſtatute. On the priſoner's repreſenting to the court, that the lords of the council had allowed him to have the advice of counſel, but that the order had been of no uſe, for having been robbed of all the money he poſſeſſed, by thoſe who took him, it was not in his power to fee a lawyer, a very ſmart dialogue enſued, in which Sir Thomas Armſtrong aſſerted, that he ought to have the benefit of the law, and he deſired no more; and which concluded in the following manner, by the chief juſtice, "That you ſhall have, by the grace of God; I will ſee that execution ſhall be done on Friday next, according to law; you ſhall have the full benefit of the law."

THAT divine mercy, which often produces from an apparent evil the brighteſt and the happieſt conſequences, never was more conſpicuous than in the change which the exigence of this occaſion, wrought in the manners, temper, and principles of Sir Thomas Armſtrong. From the firſt period of his impriſonment, to the fatal moment which terminated his exiſtence, his carriage excited the admiration, and ſurpriſed every one who had been acquainted with him in the former parts of his life: he rejoiced that he was brought to give this ſad and ſolemn teſtimony of his political principles; and ſaid, that it would have been ſcarce poſſible for him to have been converted to a due ſenſe of his former errors, by any viſitation leſs ſevere than the ſufferings of a violent death. "His pride and his reſentments, ſays Burnet, were entirely ſubdued; he received the ſacrament, and died in ſo good a temper, and in ſo much quiet in his mind, and ſo ſerene a deportment, that we have ſcarce known in our time, a more eminent inſtance of the grace and mercy of God." Ann. 1683.

WE have before had occaſion to obſerve, that the malignity of human malice, though accompanied with a power equal to the effecting the moſt atrocious acts of cruelty, is often defeated of its revengeful purpoſes, by the benign interpoſition of Providence; and this by a ſudden revolution in the diſpoſition of the mind, by which it is brought to acquieſce with circumſtances of rigor, which, in a more ordinary ſtate of its powers, could not have been reflected on without horror. Never did any proceedings partake of a more ſevere ſpirit of revenge and cruelty than thoſe which ſignalized the conduct of the court, in the proſecution of Sir Thomas Armſtrong. Contrary to the cuſtom uſed to priſoners

priſoners of his rank, and who had ſerved in ſuch high poſts under the government, he was loaded with irons. From the firſt period of his being taken into cuſtody, he had but ſix days allowed him to prepare for death; he was drawn on a ſledge from Newgate to Tyburn, ſurrounded with a numerous detachment of thoſe guards he had once commanded; and every particular of the barbarous and inhuman puniſhment, which the laws preſcribe for treaſon, was executed upon him with the utmoſt rigor; his bowels were taken out and burnt; his body was divided, and its different quarters hung up, as a terror to all thoſe who ſhould venture to oppoſe the meaſures of government. As an excuſe for the cruel indignities inflicted on a man, who had been a ſharer in the king's familiar hours, his majeſty aſſerted to his courtiers, and to the foreign miniſters, that Armſtrong had been ſent over by Cromwell to murder him, whilſt in exile. That his majeſty was warned of it, and challenged Armſtrong upon it; and that upon his confeſſing it, he had promiſed never to ſpeak of it any more, as long as the offender lived; but as he was now to be counted dead in law, he regarded himſelf as abſolved from the promiſe. In the paper which was publiſhed after Sir Thomas's death, he ſo entirely confuted this improbable tale, and makes it appear ſo evident, that he ſuffered a cloſe impriſonment, from the power of the uſurper, for the ſervice he had rendered his majeſty, in carrying him over bills of Exchange, and letters of importance, from his friends in England *, that

* It muſt be acknowleged, that if Sir Thomas Armſtrong's paper was fairly publiſhed, that he only ſays, the king charged him with being a ſpy of Cromwell's; but Burnet is expreſs, that the king charged Sir Thomas Armſtrong with having had a deſign to murder him; and the biſhop farther tells us, that Sir Thomas took this

that the apologiſts of Charles, have thought proper to adopt another palliative for the king's conduct, in the oppreſſive and cruel treatment of the man who had ſhared his familiar hours, viz. that his majeſty's reſentment had been raiſed to an extraordinary height, on the ſuppoſition that Sir Thomas had been the man who had perverted from his filial duty and loyalty his beloved ſon, the duke of Monmouth: as if on the grounds, that the ſuppoſition was juſt, a ſpirit of malice and revenge, which are in themſelves mean and criminal, can be admitted as extenuating circumſtances for acts of the higheſt moral turpitude, viz. acts of injuſtice and acts of oppreſſion. Ann. 1683.

THE knowledge of any deſign againſt the king's life, as aſſerted in the infamous depoſitions of Howard and Rumſey, was abſolutely denied by Sir Thomas in the paper which he delivered to the ſheriffs; and he aſſerts, that if he had been tried, he could have proved by the evidence of ten gentlemen, that lord Howard's reflections on him were a notorious falſhood; and that he dined with this nobleman on the very day which, according to his depoſition, he was ſaid to be on the road to Windſor in the deſign of waylaying the king. It is to be obſerved, that lord Howard's depoſition is one of the palliative circumſtances urged by biſhop Spratt for the king's not going out of the way of the law, as he ſays, to ſhew any diſtinguiſhing act of grace in favour of a man who had made ſo many un-

this ſo heavily, that he had written one paper with his own hand, in which his reſentments were expreſſed with more ſharpneſs than the biſhop thought became a dying man; and that on his expoſtulations on the ſubject, Sir Thomas altered it.

Ann. 1683. grateful returns for the perſonal obligations he had received from majeſty.

THOUGH the ſcene of blood in England cloſed with the horrid execution of Sir Thomas Armſtrong, it put no ſtop to the rigorous proſecutions which were carried on by the court againſt individuals who were ſuppoſed to be guilty of much ſmaller treſpaſſes. Joſeph Hayes, an eminent citizen of London, was indicted for high-treaſon, for having traiterouſly relieved Sir Thomas Armſtrong, by aſſigning, or paying for his uſe, one hundred and fifty pounds, contrary to the duty of his allegiance, &c. The indictment had no other ſupport than hear-ſay evidence, and a ſimilitude of hands, ſworn to by one witneſs, and contradicted by another: however, Sir George Jeffries, who had received a ring of value from the king, on the ſervices he had rendered in this and the preceding trials, and which, from theſe circumſtances, was nominated the blood-ſtone, with an unabated ſpirit kept up to the part he had hitherto acted, but with unequal ſucceſs: he overuled three points of law, urged by the priſoner; and he endeavoured to give an undue influence to the jury, by repreſenting him as a buſy, factious citizen. Hayes' defence conſiſted in an abſolute denial of every tittle of the charge: he alſo obſerved, that the witneſſes did not ſwear poſitively, but only according to their belief; that no two of them ſwore to the ſame point; that Chudleigh's ſecretary alone had ſworn the letter was found in Sir Thomas's papers; and that Everies alone had ſworn that he had ſeen ſuch a bill, but did not know the hand. He alledged, that overtures of life had been

Burnet, p. 580.

been made to him on certain terms *, and aſked the jury, whether they could think that he would have riſked his life, if he might have ſecured it by telling the truth? "Gentlemen, adds he, I have declared to you the whole truth, with all the ſolemnity which becomes an innocent man, and you have heard the evidence; it is nothing but circumſtance and hear-ſay; and ſhall a man's life be taken away, for I believe, I think, and I have heard? Gentlemen, you are my fellow-citizens and fellow-chriſtians, of the ſame reformed religion; and I hope you are ſworn into this ſervice without any prejudice againſt me, but with an impartial reſolution to do juſtice; therefore I leave the matter chearfully to you. I am ſure, that if God help me, and deliver me in this exigence, it is you that, under him, muſt preſerve my life. Gentlemen, the great uncertainties, improbabilities, and conſequences in this caſe, I hope, will be weighed by you: we muſt all die; and I am ſure that it will be no grief to you, when you come to the final period of mortality, that you have acquitted an innocent man." The chief juſtice, in his charge to the jury, employed all the powers of his rhetoric, to make the proteſtations of the priſoner paſs for a ſtrain of the ſame hypocriſy, which, according to him, was the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the whole party. But though it is difficult to imagine on what Engliſh ſtatute Hayes could have been indicted for high-treaſon, yet, in all probability, this ſpirited citizen owed his acquittal more to the having made thirty-five peremptory challenges of the jury, than to the deficiency in point of law or evidence, or to the courageous and pathetic addreſs with which he had cloſed his de- Ann. 1683.

* Theſe terms, according to Burnet, were the diſcovery of a cabal of men, whom the government ſuſpected of having joined in a common purſe to ſupply thoſe who had fled from England on account of the plot, Burnet, p. 599.

Ann. 1683. fence * ; and, greatly to the diſappointment of all parties, after a debate of two hours, the jury brought in their verdict, not guilty. But if the court was for once diſappointed, by an unexpected tincture of honeſty, in ſome of the individuals which formed this jury, they were equally gratified by the conduct of thoſe who ſucceeded to this office.

Several letters of Sir Samuel Bernardiſton to Sir Philip Skippon, expreſſive of joy for the duke of Monmouth's return to court, the affectionate reception he had met with from the king, and the viſible mortification of the duke of York's party on this circumſtance, &c. either by treachery, or by being ſtopt at the poſt-office, fell into the hands of the miniſters. Sir Samuel Bernardiſton was very obnoxious, becauſe he had been the foreman of that jury who had rejected the bill againſt lord Shafteſbury; and the court took this opportunity to ruin him: he was proceeded againſt by information, in which he was ſet forth as a man of a turbulent and unquiet ſpirit; and the letters were ſaid to be written in order to ſcandalize and villify the evidence of the late conſpiracy. The chief juſtice, inſtead of confining himſelf to the treſpaſs before the court, diſcharged a volley of virulent invective againſt the defendant: though he pretended, he ſaid, to gild over his practices with a zeal for the Proteſtant religion, his inſide was rotten, he was factious and ſeditious at the bottom, and full of malice againſt the king, the government, the church and ſtate, and againſt every man who had not a ſhare in the late bloody conſpiracy. His letters

* Burnet is of opinion, that the acquittal of this merchant was owing to his having a jury of the ſame profeſſion, who did not care to ſet a precedent, which might obſtruct the circulation of money, and involve bankers in great difficulties. Burnet, p. 599, et ſeq.

were

were as factious and ſeditious as could have been written, Ann. 1683.
and, in his opinion, bordered on high treaſon: they contained the ſame language that had given riſe to the late rebellion, which ended in the deſtruction of the beſt of kings, and the beſt of governments. With theſe inflammatory expreſſions the matter was left to the jury, who were all men of the right ſtamp; and who, without going out of court, found the defendant guilty: he was ſentenced to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds, and to give ſecurity for his good behaviour during life.

TITUS OATES, with all his vices, had ſome principles of honeſty in his compoſition, of which the greater part of the witneſſes in the popiſh plot had been found totally defective. Inſtead of ranging himſelf on the ſide of the court, as an evidence againſt thoſe by whoſe power and influence he, from motives of policy, or a miſguided zeal, had received favour and protection, he had never deſerted any individual of the party, in the hour of diſtreſs and oppreſſion; and with the ſame daring ſpirit with which he had accuſed the leaders of the popiſh faction, not excepting even his royal highneſs the duke, he appeared in court as an evidence in favour of the perſecuted excluſioniſts. For the part he had acted on College's trial he had been turned out of his apartments at Whitehall, forbid the council-chamber, and his penſion had been conſiderably reduced; but now that the omnipotence of the court was thoroughly eſtabliſhed, on the accuſation that he had uttered ſeveral inſolent and menacing ſpeeches againſt his royal highneſs, he was found guilty, and ſentenced to pay a fine of no ſmaller a ſum than one hundred thouſand pounds; a ſentence which, in his caſe, was a much ſeverer verdict than perpetual impriſonment.

Ann. 1683. ſomment. John Dutton Colt, a gentleman of ſome fortune, for the like offence was ſentenced to the ſame puniſhment. A publication alſo of Johnſon, the late chaplain to the lord Ruſſel, entitled, Julian the Apoſtate, tending to prove that the doctrine of non-reſiſtance was neither practiſed nor taught by the primitive chriſtians, was found to be ſcandalous and ſeditious; the author was fined five hundred marks, and to ſuffer impriſonment till it was paid: and the printer of the paper ſet forth to the public as the laſt ſpeech of lord Ruſſel, was alone preſerved from a ſimilar puniſhment, by flinging himſelf on the mercy of the court.

Execution of Baillie of Jerviſwood.

Baillie of Jerviſwood, whoſe manly generous conduct, on the illegal ſeizure of Kirkton, has been already related, was ſeized in England, on the accuſation of having been engaged in the plot; and when brought before the council, and offered his life if he would conſent to turn evidence, he replied with a firmneſs equal to the auguſt carriage of the Roman Regulus, "they who can make ſuch a propoſal to me, know neither me nor my country." This anſwer, and the philoſophic coolneſs with which Baillie treated ſome very ſevere threatnings from the king and the duke, were matters of ſuch provocation, that Baillie was loaded with very heavy irons, and ſent down to Scotland, where tyranny had been eſtabliſhed from the period of the Reſtoration, where power met with no check by any regulations of law, and where the ſavage cuſtom of putting ſuſpected perſons to the torture, which had for ſome time been the diſgrace of every chriſtian ſociety, but which was now exploded in the more civilized ſtates of Europe, yet continued to brand with barbariſm Scottiſh manners and Scottiſh laws. The rule about the boots in Scotland, ſays Burnet, is, that upon one witneſs, ſtrengthened by preſumptions, the queſtion may

be given; but it was never known to be twice given, or that any other ſpecies of torture might be uſed at pleaſure: but lord Perth, reſolving to make the inquiſition his pattern, was a little too early in letting the world ſee what kind of government was to be expected under the influence of a prince of the Romiſh religion. According to this reſolution, Spence, a ſervant of the earl of Argyle, was ſeized in London, and ſent down to Scotland, where he was required to take an oath to anſwer all the queſtions which ſhould be put to him. On the refuſal of Spence to comply with a demand, in contradiction to an expreſs law againſt obliging men to take ſuch an oath, he was ſtruck in the boots; and continuing firm to his reſolution, he was kept from ſleep eight or nine nights: this not ſucceeding, a third ſpecies of torture was invented. Little ſcrews of ſteel were made uſe of, which ſcrewed the thumbs with ſo exquiſite a torment, as to ſubdue in a great meaſure the courage of the unhappy ſufferer; yet ſuch was his honour and fidelity, that even in this extremity he capitulated that no new queſtions ſhould be put to him, and that he ſhould not be produced as a witneſs againſt any perſon. By this method the miniſtry acquired the knowledge of Argyle's correſpondents, the chief of whom was Holmes, an Engliſhman; in whoſe papers, when ſeized, were diſcovered the ſum of money which Argyle had demanded, and what he undertook to perform; on the granting his demands but none of his letters ſhewed that any agreement had taken place. Ann. 1683.

The ſame oath which had been refuſed by Spence was refuſed with an equal degree of firmneſs by Carſtairs, a preſbyterian miniſter; on which his thumbs were put into the ſkrews, which were drawn together with ſuch rigour, that when

Ann. 1683. when in the agonies of torture, Carſtairs cried out, that he would confeſs, the inquiſitors could not releaſe the ſufferer, and were obliged to have recourſe to the ſmith who had formed theſe inſtruments of torture. On the confeſſion extorted from Carſtairs and Spence, the earl of Tarras, who had married the ducheſs of Monmouth's ſiſter, and ſix or ſeven gentlemen of inferior quality, were apprehended; but Baillie of Jerviſwood, on account of his exalted reputation, and the firmneſs with which he had withſtood the promiſes and threats of the court, was the man againſt whom the artillery of miniſterial vengeance was pointed. His ſtrict confinement and ſevere treatment had thrown him into a decline, and his illneſs increaſing daily, his wife petitioned for leave to attend him, even on the condition of being put into irons. This requeſt was moſt inhumanly denied, as alſo the attendance of his daughter, a child of twelve years of age; even when he was reduced to ſo low a ſtate that it was not probable he could live many weeks. On the examination of the earl of Tarras, who had married for his ſecond wife, Baillie's niece, and whoſe reſolution and firmneſs, inſtead of riſing equal to his birth and fortune, had been found much inferior to the conduct of Carſtairs and Spence, an accuſation was ſent to Baillie, not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but in a letter from the king, in which his majeſty charged the priſoner with a conſpiracy to raiſe a rebellion, and with the being engaged in the Rye-houſe plot. Of theſe accuſations he was required to purge himſelf by oath, otherwiſe the council would hold him guilty, and proceed accordingly; it was in vain that the priſoner pleaded, that by no law, except in a court of inquiſition, a man could be required to ſwear againſt himſelf. A committee of council was ſent to

tender him the oath, and, on his refuſal, he was fined ſix thouſand pounds; and ordered to lie in priſon till it was paid. It was generally believed, ſays Burnet, that this was a final ſentence, and that the matter was now at an end; but the duke was not ſatisfied: Baillie was ſtill kept under cloſe confinement, and denied all attendance and aſſiſtance; and the miniſtry applied their arts to Tarras, and the other priſoners, threatening them with all extremity of miſery, if they would not witneſs treaſonable matters againſt Baillie. They alſo practiſed on their wives, and, frightening them, ſet them on their huſbands; by which means they carried the point. Tarras and one Murray, of Philipſhaugh, depoſed, that Baillie, before he went up to London, had held diſcourſes with them, in which he endeavoured to excite them to a rebellion. Carſtairs was alſo prevailed on to become a witneſs; and the jury, according to the cuſtom of Scotland, conſiſting of twelve gentlemen, one knight, and two peers, unanimouſly pronounced the priſoner guilty; and, leſt the ſudden approach of death ſhould reſcue the victim from the infernal arm of vengeance, he was executed on the ſame day. Ann. 1683.

Such were the ſufferings, and this the fatal end of a man, whoſe learning, courage, ſpirit, and integrity, claſſed him among the very few individuals whoſe virtues reflected luſtre on their country in this diſgraceful period of the Scotch annals. His behaviour, during his ſevere impriſonment, ſays Burnet, looked like the reviving the ſpirit of the nobleſt of the old Greeks and Romans, or rather of the primitive Chriſtians and firſt martyrs of thoſe beſt ages of the church. He was little diſturbed at the ſentence of death paſſed on him, or the inhuman haſte with which he was hurried to

Ann. 1683. execution; and, notwithſtanding his feeble and reduced ſtate, he made a ſpeech to the people, in which he ſhewed, that in ſeveral particulars the witneſſes had wronged him; in which he acknowledged the opinion, that it was lawful for ſubjects, under the oppreſſions at this time experienced by the Engliſh and Scotch, to endeavour to obtain relief by the way of arms; in which he aſſerted, that the deſign never went farther; and in which he poſitively denied the knowledge of any deſign againſt the king's or the duke's life, or any plot to alter the government.

THOUGH the malice of the court ſeems to have been particularly pointed at Baillie of Jerviſwood, yet it was not owing to any degree of moderation that more perſons did not ſuffer an equal rigour of puniſhment. Sir Hugh Campbell, of Ceſnock, was brought to trial, on a charge of giving riſe to the battle of Bothwell-bridge; and when, on the want of a ſufficient effrontery in the witneſſes, they were brought to acknowledge that they could ſay nothing in particular concerning the priſoner, Campbell was acquitted by the jury, he was ſtill kept in priſon, on the pretence that the witneſſes, being re-examined before the council, had adhered to their firſt depoſitions. The laws of Scotland, according to Burnet, treat falſe witneſſes as felons; but the government were determined not to diſcourage a practice, of which their preſent power enabled them to take full advantage. To this bare-faced defiance of law and juſtice an inſtance of cruelty, attended with the moſt melancholy conſequences, was exhibited in the Scotch privy-council. Gordon, of Earlſton, had been ſeized at Newcaſtle, and ſeveral letters from the Cargillites to their friends in Holland having been found upon him, he was condemned to die. Advice was ſent up to the court

court at London, that, according to certain informations, the priſoner had been entruſted with ſecrets of great importance; and the Lord Advocate of Scotland gave it as his opinion, that he might be put to the torture, though under ſentence of death. Orders were ſent down to ſuch a purport; but on the firſt view of the engines of torture, the wretched victim ran inſtantly mad, and the government was ſo irritated with the diſappointment, that a ſpecies of more exquiſite torture was prepared for Ferguſon; but although it was known that this bold adventurer had fled to Edinburgh, his good fortune preſerved him from the vigilance of his purſuers, and he a ſecond time effected his eſcape to Holland, the preſent ſecure ſanctuary for the perſecuted excluſioniſts. Ann. 1683.

In the narration of the conſpiracy to levy war, I have followed the opinion of the greater number of hiſtorians, and the account delivered in the depoſition of the witneſſes; but a variety of circumſtances induces me to believe, that there was no more in the conſpiracy than what lord Ruſſel aſſerted to Burnet, the embryo of things, which, in all probability, might never have been put in execution, and which could only have received a form by the coincidence of circumſtances, and from thence have derived motion and efficacy. It is plain, that the riſing planned by the earl of Shafteſbury had been propoſed, in a very looſe manner, to a few of the popular leaders. Sidney, from a diſlike to Shafteſbury's conduct and character, had not had any converſation, or been in the company of this nobleman, for the ſpace of two years; and, according to lord Howard's rambling narrative, the duke of Monmouth diſowned, that the buſineſs of an inſurrection had been ſeriouſly undertaken; and that it

Ann. 1683. was this circumſtance which provoked the earl of Shafteſbury to thoſe invectives againſt the popular party, which gave riſe to the appointment of that meeting at Shepherd's which proved ſo fatal to lord Ruſſel. On the ſubject of what paſſed in the two conſultations held at Mr. Hampden's and lord Ruſſel's, we have only lord Howard's doubtful evidence, corroborated in one circumſtance, by the letters and papers which were found on Holmes; but it plainly appears, on the face of the evidence given by the Scots and Engliſh, and by theſe papers, that no final determination had taken place; that no ſolid principles of confidence and union ſubſiſted between the parties; that the Scots would not believe the Engliſh were in earneſt, till they ſaw them in the field; and that the Engliſh could not be induced to part with their money, till they were certain it would be laid out in the public ſervice. The government was very ſenſible that theſe circumſtances were greatly inadequate to the repreſentations which had been ſet forth by authority to the public; and it was on this reaſon that they exerted every power of oppreſſive cruelty, which the fanaticiſm of their party, the corruption of their defendants, and the ſervility of both nations afforded, to extort confeſſions ſuitable to the extravagant aſſertion, that nothing but the immediate interpoſition of heaven, by the providential fire at Newmarket, and the voluntary depoſition of the profligate tool Keyling, could have ſaved the royaliſts from a general maſſacre, and preſerved the invaluable lives of the king and the duke, on which the very being both of the church and ſtate depended. It is indeed very plain, that all the fault with which the conſpirators to levy war can be charged, was the talking inſtead of acting; and in regard to the conſpiracy for an aſſaſſination, ſo pompouſly ſet forth under the ſanction of royal

authority,

authority, by the pen of biſhop Spratt, and ſo wickedly mixed and confounded by the court, the lawyers, and this prelate, with the conſpiracy to levy war, if there is any ground of truth in the wild rambling converſation ſaid to have paſſed between theſe minor conſpirators, it muſt be acknowledged, that oppreſſion makes ſober men mad; but, if any individual has ſufficient credulity to believe the following particulars, viz. that any ſet of men, in the full enjoyment of their ſenſes, could propoſe, as a neceſſary prelude to the ſeizing the Tower, to draw together a crowd of perſons of all parties, by exhibiting in public the ſpectacle of playing with a golden ball; that any ſet of men could propoſe ſeriouſly, that the king and his guards ſhould be attacked by a handful of ruffians in the common highway; ſhould be ſhot by an aim taken from a ſteeple, or by a pocket blunderbuſs in the midſt of a crowded audience at a play-houſe; ſuch an individual has undoubtedly a ſufficient degree of faith, provided he has a ſufficient degree of candour, to believe the truth of the popiſh plot, as depoſed by the ſeveral witneſſes, or any other the moſt improbable fiction that ever was attempted to be impoſed on the ſimplicity and ignorance of mankind. The truth indeed is, that both the popiſh and proteſtant plot took their riſe from that ſpecies of encouragement which, from the commencement of Charles's reign, had been given to thoſe peſts of ſociety, ſtate informers; to that kind of liberty of ſpeech which is ſuppoſed to be the birth-right of Engliſhmen; and to thoſe ſtrong provocations which inflamed the tempers both of proteſtants and papiſts, into a very unwarrantable exertion of the freedom of the tongue. It is to be obſerved, that the treaſonable matters ſaid to have been propoſed in the ſeveral meetings of the minor conſpirators, in regard to the taking off

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Ann. 1683. off the king, were confined to the witneſſes themſelves: and if theſe wretches were not in the pay of the court, to draw the party of excluſioniſts into this pit of deſtruction, the only difference which exiſts in the circumſtances of proof between the popiſh plot and the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, lies in the ſuperior fortitude and virtue of the papiſts who could not be prevailed on, with the hopes of pardon or reward, to ſubſcribe to the truth of a falſe accuſation, or expoſe their brethren to the fury of the times, by betraying the follies of private converſation.

King ſets forth a declaration.

As a neceſſary prelude to the injurious treatment of Sidney, a declaration, or rather an envenomed libel againſt the whole party of excluſioniſts, was ſet forth by the king; in which it is aſſerted, that a malevolent faction had long, by a variety of means, endeavoured to undermine the government; that, when diſpoſſeſſed of the magiſtracy of the city of London, they had endeavoured to carry their point by force of arms; firſt, by concerting a general riſing in England, and then in both kingdoms, in concurrence with the earl of Argyle, and other diſcontented Scots. After theſe aſſertions, his majeſty details all the abſurd and improbable things related by the witneſſes to merit their pardon, and depoſed but as hear-ſay evidence; ſuch as the invitation of ſeveral lords to dine in the city, in order to countenance the aſſaſſination, when the news of it ſhould arrive; a declaration ſaid to have been prepared by Ferguſon; the reſolution taken to follow the blow by a maſſacre of all the obnoxious magiſtrates of London, and miniſters of ſtate; the ſeveral projects to take off the king and the duke, after that of the Rye-houſe had failed. And to give this minute detail all its force on the minds of the credulous and undiſtinguiſhing

diſtinguiſhing croud, the guilt and ſcandal of theſe deſpe- Ann. 1683.
rate projects are charged on the malecontent lords in the following words: during all this time, the principal conſpirators were managing their other deſign, for a general inſurrection in both kingdoms; the names of Goodenough, Rumbold, &c. follow in train, after the duke of Monmouth and his aſſociates; and Ferguſon is placed between the aſſaſſins on the one hand, and the Engliſh and Scottiſh lords and gentlemen on the other, as the hinge on which the ſeveral conſpiracies turned.

The declaration was appointed to be read twice in every pariſh church; and this fallacious repreſentation intended to blacken one part of his majeſty's ſubjects, and deceive the other, was accompanied with a new form of prayer, appointed to be read in all churches, in which were the following thankſgiving clauſes, calculated to ſharpen and embitter the minds of the citizens againſt each other, in their moſt ſolemn acts of devotion to the common Lord and Father of all men: "We yield unto thee, from the very bottom of our hearts, unfeigned thanks and praiſe for the late ſignal and wonderful deliverance of our moſt gracious ſovereign, his royal brother, and loyal ſubjects of all denominations and degrees, by the fanatic rage and treachery of wicked and ungodly men, appointed as ſheep to the ſlaughter, in a moſt barbarous and ſavage manner." The people were not leſs forward in taking the name of the Lord in vain than the ſovereign: we are told by Echard, that theſe ſolemn mockeries were celebrated in ſo extraordinary a manner, and with ſuch mighty pomp and magnificence, that there was hardly a little pariſh in England, that was not at a conſiderable expence to teſtify their great joy and ſatisfaction.

Ann. 1683. The Tories rode in triumph over the proſtrate ſtate of public liberty; it was alledged, that the diſcovery of the plot had decided the argument, and had ſhewn the neceſſity of paſſive obedience, which was equally eſpouſed by the court, the pulpit, the bench, and the bar: and under the impulſe of this general madneſs, the univerſity of Oxford made a ſolemn decree, in which they formally condemned twenty-ſeven propoſitions, collected out of Buchanan, Bellarmine, Milton, and other writers of the firſt claſs. Among theſe poſitions, which were declared to be falſe, ſeditious, impious, heretical, blaſphemous, infamous to Chriſtian religion, and deſtructive of all government in church and ſtate, are to be found the following: that all civil authority is derived from the people; that if lawful governors become tyrants, they forfeit their right of governing; that the king of England has but a co-ordinate power with the other two eſtates; that birth-right or proximity of blood gives no title to rule; and that there lies no obligation on Chriſtians to paſſive obedience, &c.

Solemn decree of the univerſity of Oxford.

The books which contained theſe impious propoſitions were ordered to be burnt in the common court of the ſchools: the king was preſented with the decree, and being thus declared in form the abſolute maſter of the commonwealth, commenced, without farther heſitation, the exerciſe of that deſpotic power he had acquired over the city of London. On the 4th of October, a month after the uſual time of election, Sir William Pritchard, the lord mayor, was ordered to attend, and with the two ſheriffs, one of whom had been nominated by the mayor, received his majeſty's commiſſion in form, the one to continue in the city chair, and the others to act in the office of ſheriffs. Treby, the recorder, was diſ-

placed, and Jennour ſubſtituted in his room; ſixteen of the old aldermen, who were of the Tory faction, were deprived of the honours they had received from their fellow-citizens; and, after attending on the lord mayor on the Sunday following, in their common cloaths, to denote their ſervility and dependence, were made juſtices of the peace by one commiſſion, and aldermen by another; together with eight others of the faction in the room of Allen, Frederic, Laurence, Clayton, Ward, Shorter, Gold, and Corniſh; who were all turned out, for the never-to-be-forgiven ſin of having defended, to the utmoſt of their legal powers, the rights and privileges of that community who had honoured them with their truſt and confidence. Ann. 1683.

Foreign affairs.

When Charles was firſt made acquainted with the king of France's reſolution to attain the poſſeſſion of Luxemburgh, he told the miniſter Barillon, that ſuch a ſtep in his ally would entirely diſconcert every meaſure which he had taken in his domeſtic affairs; and that all the dangers and embarraſſments which he could foreſee from aſſembling the parliament, were leſs than the danger to which he ſhould expoſe himſelf by the not calling it, when it ſhould appear, that he had betrayed the intereſts of England, and ſold to France the moſt important place in the Low Countries. It is a melancholy truth, that the depravity of human nature will ever be found to exceed the notion of the ſpeculiſt: the king's apprehenſions proved to be without foundation, nor indeed could it reaſonably be ſuppoſed that a party who had gone ſuch lengths in the ruin of the conſtitution of their own country, would be much intereſted in the liberties of Europe; or take into any conſideration the remoter danger which threatened the Britiſh empire from the extra-

Ann. 1683. extravagant ambition of the French king. Barillon assured Charles, that the English would only make a three days wonder of the seizing of Luxemburgh, as they had done before of Strasburgh. These assurances, accompanied with the offer of a million of livres, so entirely prevailed over the king's fears, that he proposed the being made arbiter of the matter in dispute, that he might have an opportunity of deciding the question in favour of the king of France's pretensions. Lewis eagerly embraced a proposal which the smallest degree of delicacy must have prevented him from moving to the king; and the Spanish court were made acquainted with his most Christian majesty's intention of making their friend and ally, the king of England, the arbiter of the matter in dispute between the two courts: but the Spaniards, with a contempt and resentment which sufficiently manifested the just idea they had formed of the treachery of Charles, and the duplicity of both monarchs, refused their assent to the proposal, on the reason that such an assent would be the absolute surrender of Luxemburgh. This refusal of the Spaniards afforded to Charles the pretence of denying to Spain that assistance which he had stipulated by treaty to afford her; and Lewis prepared to wrest by the force of arms those advantages which he had been unable to gain in the way of negociation.

SPAIN, even in this distressed and forsaken condition, scorned to submit to the injurious and ruinous pretensions of the haughty Lewis: the marquis de Grana, who had received a threatening message from the marshal d'Humieres, the French general, signifying that his most Christian majesty having for two years together vainly expected satisfaction for his pretensions on Alost, &c. had commanded him to assemble

assemble his forces, and to take immediate possession, dis- Ann. 1683.
patched advices of what had happened to the princes of Germany, to the king of England, and to the States of Holland, accompanied with the most lively remonstrances of the danger at hand, and the apparent necessity of an immediate assistance. In return to these advices and solicitations, the marquis received from the states of Flanders, a large benevolence; but the emperor, though equally interested with Spain, was too much engaged with the Turks to afford any assistance; the German princes had suffered too severely by the last, to enter precipitately on any new war; and the States of Holland did not care to engage in so unequal a contest.

In this critical situation of affairs the prince of Orange, Ann. 1684.
deeply affected with the injurious conduct of Lewis, and the dangers which attended his country from the encroachments of this monarch, attempted, though in vain, to figure again in the sublime character of the patron of the liberties of Europe. He assembled the States of Holland, and, in concert with the pensionary Fagel and the Spanish resident, left no expedient untried, to engage the Dutch in a new levy of sixteen thousand men; but the prince's endeavours were not attended with success: the town of Amsterdam, in which the French faction were prevalent, with the provinces of Friezeland and Groningen, refused their assent; and the prince was so far provoked with the opposition as to infringe one of the fundamentals of the Dutch government, by insisting that a plurality of voices should, in this instance, be held of equal authority with the unanimity required by the constitution; and though this daring trespass on the rights of the minority was carried in form by a majority of votes, yet

Ann. 1684. it loſt to the Stadtholder all that popularity which accompanied the firſt period of his elevation. The town of Amſterdam, and the diſſenting provinces, abſolutely refuſed to ſupply their contingencies of men and money, and the town of Amſterdam carried their reſentment ſo far as to propoſe the ſetting up the prince Caſimir of Naſſau, a near relation of the prince of Orange, as their ſtadtholder. Theſe domeſtic broils, accompanied with a general apprehenſion, that the prince, under the pretence of war, only ſought an opportunity of enlarging his authority, and the flattering aſſurances given by the French ambaſſador, that Luxemburgh, or an equivalent to the poſſeſſion of this town, would put a period to his maſter's ambitious views, held the ſtates ſo long in ſuſpence, that Luxemburgh was abſolutely taken before any aſſiſtance was given to the Spaniards. In this ſituation of affairs the deputies of the States General ſigned a truce with the French miniſter, on the terms which had been propoſed by France, viz. that the French king ſhould be left in the poſſeſſion of Luxemburgh for the time of the truce; that the king of Great Britain ſhould be arbiter, in caſe any diſputes ſhould ariſe between the contracting powers, as alſo guarantee; that contributions ſhould be continued on both ſides, till the day fixed for exchange of the ratifications; all arrears then due, to be paid within ſix months; all hoſtilities to ceaſe; the States to withdraw their troops out of his Catholic majeſty's ſervice, in caſe he ſhould not accept the truce within the time prefixed, and not to give him any aſſiſtance in the farther proſecution of the war; the moſt Chriſtian king not to make any new conqueſts in Flanders, or to accept any equivalent there for the conqueſts he ſhould make elſewhere.

SPAIN,

Spain, who had been ſo enraged at the treatment which Ann. 1684.
ſhe had met with, as to declare war againſt her inſolent enemy, in the hopes that the other powers of Europe, ſenſible of the common danger, would fly to her aſſiſtance, now found herſelf obliged to ſubmit to the conditions of a treaty, in which her intereſt had not been at all conſidered; and this with the mortifying addition of ſacrificing to the vengeance of France her only faithful ally, the republic of Genoa, who had valiantly ſuſtained a bombardment, by a numerous French ſquadron, rather than ſubmit to the conditions of aſking pardon for the offence given by their attachment to the Spaniards; alſo to join the gallies they had built for the ſervice of this ſtate with the naval force of France. The injury which the Genoeſe had ſuffered by this bombardment had been great; and now ſeeing themſelves entirely abandoned, and left out of the treaty concluded with the French king, they were obliged to have recourſe to the pope, to interpoſe with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty in their favour, who was pleaſed to grant them a peace on the following ſevere, unjuſt, and inſolent terms, viz. that the doge and four members of the ſenate ſhould in perſon repair to France, by a certain time, and proceed to the place where the king ſhould then reſide; and being admitted to an audience in their robes of ceremony, ſhould in the name of the republic, declare their ſorrow for having diſpleaſed his majeſty, and uſe ſuch other expreſſions of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, as ſhould demonſtrate the ſincere deſire of the republic to deſerve his majeſty's kindneſs for the future; that the office of the doge ſhould not be ſupplied during his abſence; that he ſhould reſume the exerciſe of his function at his return; that the republic ſhould diſmiſs the Spaniſh forces in her ſervice, renounce all leagues ſince the

firſt

Ann. 1684. first of January, 1683; reduce their gallies to the ſame number they were three years before; give ſuch a ſum of money as the pope ſhould think fit, towards the reparation of the churches and monaſteries damaged by the bombs, and pay ten thouſand crowns to the count de Fieſque.

THERE is a manner in ſubmitting to neceſſary acts of humiliation which diſcovers an equal meaſure of fortitude and gallantry, as in actions where the higheſt degree of courage is diſplayed: and ſuch was the dignified air and carriage of the firſt magiſtrate of this noble republic in this conſtrained act of ſubmiſſion, as drew the admiration of every ſenſible ſpectator, whilſt it excited an equal degree of contempt for the oſtentatious idol to whom the extorted homage was paid. Whilſt all the dazzling glory of Verſailles, ſays Burnet, was ſet forth to the doge, and the flatterers of the court were extolling the magnificence of the ſovereign, he ſeemed to look at every thing with that indifference which became a perſon who was at the head of a free commonwealth: and when he was aſked if the things he ſaw were not very extraordinary, he returned the following anſwer. That the moſt extraordinary of all theſe things, which he had obſerved, was to ſee himſelf at Verſailles.

THE affronts and injuries offered to the prince of Orange were almoſt equal to thoſe which had been inflicted on the Genoeſe: the prince of Condé was prevailed on to put in a claim to his principality of Orange, ſituated in the midſt of Provence; and the ſtadtholder was cited to appear before the French privy-council, by the ſtyle of William, count of Naſſau, living at the Hague, in Holland. The prince of

d'Iſinguin was authoriſed to ſeize his lands in Brabant, Ann. 1684.
Dauphiné, and the duchy of Luxemburgh, his lordſhips in Burgundy, his cuſtoms on the Rhone, and in the principality of Holland; and to expoſe to public ſale the counties and demeſnes of Warneſſon, Wiandon, Deuſburgh, Badgenback, and St. Viths. The provinces of Zealand, Guelderland, Utrecht, and Holland, remonſtrated againſt ſo outrageous an infraction of the treaty of Nimeguen. In this hour of diſtreſs, the prince applied to the king of Great Britain, to uſe his intereſt with the French monarch to obtain the redreſs of theſe multiplied oppreſſions; but with ſo little ſucceſs, that, inſtead of interceding in his behalf, both the uncle and the father-in-law co-operated in heaping mortifications upon him; and, according to biſhop Burnet, Chudleigh, the Engliſh envoy, who had offered a perſonal affront to the prince, in contradicting the orders he had given to the Britiſh troops in the Dutch ſervice to pay the common honours of a ſalute to the duke of Monmouth, joined with d'Avaux, the French miniſter, in widening the breach between him and the town of Amſterdam. And though the project in favour of the prince Caſimir, of Naſſau, was laid aſide, yet the prince of Orange had the mortification to ſuſtain a great diminution in his power and authority, by the diſbanding all the additional forces which had been raiſed in the year 1682, to the number of fourteen hundred and forty-ſix horſe, and nine thouſand and forty-two foot.

From the period that the earl of Clarendon had been diſmiſſed from his high office, and the king had taken the adminiſtration of the government into his own hands, the myſteries of the interior cabinet were ſeldom fathomed, even by thoſe who appeared to poſſeſs his majeſty's higheſt confidence.

Ann. 1684. fidence. The marquis of Hallifax, the oſtenſible miniſter, and Sir Francis North, the great director of the law proceedings, were ſo little in the ſecret of the French treaty, that the marquis of Hallifax, who was no longer in any apprehenſion of that formidable ſpirit which ſignalized the conduct of the three laſt parliaments, adviſed his maſter to take advantage of the preſent height of his power, and the depreſſion of the excluſioniſts, to get rid of the neceſſity of depending on France, and to render himſelf more conſidered by that court by his oppoſition than he had ever been able to do by his ſervices: the faction, he ſaid, who had carried matters ſo high in former parliaments, lay now gaſping at his feet, the body of the people were at his devotion, and the diſpoſition of men's minds had been ſo altered by the diſcovery of the plot, and the uſe which had been made of it, that he might depend on having ſuch a majority as would make him perfectly eaſy in the circumſtances of his finances, for the remainder of his life. Sir Francis North ſeconded his advice, and farther repreſented to his majeſty, that he had given his royal word in print, that he would govern according to law; that as the law then ſtood, parliaments were not to be diſcontinued above three years; and that in falſifying his own gracious declaration, he would furniſh the faction with ſuch reaſonable complaint againſt him as would enable them once more to deprive him of the hearts of the people.

In the courſe of human conduct it is found much eaſier to deviate from the laws of wiſdom and virtue, than to leave the crooked paths of vice, and regain that ſtrict yet narrow road which leads to the temple of honour and happineſs. Vice is, indeed, a labyrinth from which few can make

their eſcape, and one bad action forms a kind of a neceſſity for a repetition, which few men have the courage and fortitude to withſtand. Barillon had received ſtrict commands from Lewis, to act in concert with the duke of York; in order to keep Charles ſteady to his engagements, and the infamous treaties which this monarch had made with the court of France, with that abſolute power which the duke, on the knowledge of theſe intrigues, had acquired over him, formed inſuperable obſtacles to the adopting ſuch a ſyſtem of conduct, as ſhould place the king above the reach of his domeſtic enemies, and emancipate him from thoſe foreign fetters which had degraded him in the eyes of all the ſtates of Europe. To preſerve the king from ever being under a neceſſity of calling a parliament, a reſolution was taken to ſend lord Dartmouth, with a ſquadron of men of war, to Tangier, to blow up the works, and to bring home the garriſon; a meaſure which ſaved a conſiderable expence to the revenue, and gained a conſiderable acceſſion to the ſtanding forces of the crown; and if the total deſtruction of a place which had coſt England ſuch conſiderable ſums of money, was not ſufficient to give the people a clear idea of the inſincerity of the king's declaration on the ſubject of parliaments, they had matter for a full conviction on this particular, in the enſuing conduct of the court. All manner of proſecutions againſt the meſſengers, and other ſervants of the late houſe of commons, were manifeſtly encouraged; and even Williams, their ſpeaker, was ſued to the utmoſt extremity for the votes he had ſigned, and the warrants he had iſſued in obedience to the orders of the houſe. As a farther encroachment on the privileges of parliament, Danby and the popiſh lords, who had been confined to the Tower by the authority of both houſes, were admitted to bail; and,

Ann. 1684.

Meaſures taken to govern without parliaments.

Ann. 1684. in defiance of an act which had paſſed every branch of the legiſlature, the commiſſion for the admiralty was diſſolved, and the duke of York was reſtored to his place at the council-board, re-inveſted with the title of lord high-admiral, and with all the powers and profits belonging to that employment.

WHILST the king and his brother were thus inſulting over the whole people of England, by the contempt they ſhewed for the authority of their repreſentatives, and the dictates of law, the meaneſt ſubjection and moſt implicit obedience to the humour of the court of France is to be traced in every part of their conduct. The duke of York excuſed the admitting lord Danby to bail, on the plea, that ſuch a meaſure would give the king of France a ſtill greater ſecurity, that no parliament would be called; and when a marriage between the princeſs Anne, the youngeſt daughter of the duke, and prince George of Denmark was in agitation, his royal highneſs aſſured the French miniſter, that no reſolution ſhould be taken on this ſubject till it was known that it would be agreeable to Lewis; a circumſtance which, with other incidents of a ſimilar nature, gives great authority to thoſe obſervations of biſhop Burnet, wherein he differs from his cotemporary hiſtorians, who almoſt all repreſent the marriage of the princeſs Anne as an act of the king, againſt the inclination, deſign, and intereſt of his royal highneſs. The party, according to cuſtom, did not fail to make the moſt of this act of ſeeming popularity in the king, and continued their infamous ſubſerviency to the humours and vengeance of the court, in every vexatious proſecution againſt the lives and fortunes of thoſe individuals, who

Dalrymple's Appendix.

who were provoked to utter any complaints on the iniquity of public meaſures. Ann. 1684.

The lenient hand of death had reſcued Dubois from the perſecutions of party; but Papillon was now brought to account, for the pretended inſults offered to the magiſtracy of London by the arreſt of the lord mayor. In the courſe of the trial, Corniſh, who appeared in behalf of the defendant, was attacked in the following ſcurrilous manner, by Jeffries, "I aſk queſtions, ſays he to the jury, to let the world ſee what ſort of men theſe are who ſet up for ſaintſhip. You ſee we can hardly get one word of truth out of them: neither Bethel, nor that fellow Corniſh, would take the oaths and ſacrament according to law, till they found it would contribute to their deſign of ſubverting the government; then theſe raſcals could qualify themſelves for an office, only to put the kingdom in a flame." The knowledge which the reader muſt have obtained of the conduct and temper of juries, will guard him from that ſurprize which would otherwiſe undoubtedly have ariſen in his mind on their acquieſcence to inſults, which muſt have excited a high indignation in any civilized court of judicature. They continued to fine and impriſon, without the ſmalleſt heſitation or remorſe, every man brought before them on any pretence whatſoever, either for ſpeaking what the lawyers termed ſcandalous and ſeditious words, or for any petitions in behalf of their invaded rights, but which in the ſtyle of the times were preſented under the appellation of ſcandalous and ſeditious papers; and ſo forcible was the habit of bringing in a verdict againſt the ſubject, for any ſuppoſed offences committed againſt the government, and with ſuch a ſenſeleſs degree of hardened injuſtice were the hearts

Ann. 1683. of juries ſteeled, that in the following caſe of Roſewell, a diſſenting miniſter, accuſed by three female adventurers for having preached treaſon in the pulpit, they abaſhed even the brazen front of Jeffries, and made the government bluſh for a partiality which too fully expoſed the iniquitous depravity which had ſo ſtrongly prevailed over juſtice and humanity in all theſe mock trials, which had proved fatal to the few individuals who had ſtill preſerved, through the corruptions of the times, a diſintereſted love for their country. Roſewell, in the courſe of his defence, proved that the witneſſes were lewd and infamous perſons; and in his own juſtification, that during all the late troubles he had preſerved his loyalty; that he had prayed conſtantly for the king in his family prayers; and that in his ſermons, he had often inculcated the obligation to obedience. Several witneſſes depoſed, that no ſuch expreſſions had been uſed by the defendant, as had been ſworn by the witneſſes; his own notes were produced as a farther proof; and it was alſo urged, that it was next to impoſſible for three women to remember ſo long a period upon one ſingle hearing; and to remember it ſo exactly, as to agree to a tittle in their depoſitions. With regard to the matter of offence, the priſoner offered to put the whole upon the following iſſue, that he would pronounce, with his uſual tone of voice, a period as long as that which had been ſworn againſt him; and he would give up his defence, if they could repeat it. This method of proving their integrity was not embraced by the women, and what was yet more convincing, they could not ſhew, by any circumſtance or witneſs, that they had been at the meeting; they had forgot even the text of the ſermon, nor did they remember a ſingle paſſage, but the words which they had depoſed. The ſolicitor-general, confounded with

with the ſtrength of the defence, did not think proper to make any reply; Jeffries went no farther than ſome general declamations againſt preſbyterians and conventicles, which he called the nurſeries of Rebellion; yet the jury, in defiance both of ſhame and conſcience, brought the priſoner in guilty of treaſon. When Roſewell was brought up to receive ſentence of death, he alledged, that there was not ſufficient matter even in the indictment itſelf to juſtify the verdict which had been given againſt him; and his counſel, Pollexfen and Wallop, argued the caſe for three days ſo ſtrenuouſly, and to ſuch purpoſe, that the lord chief juſtice and his two aſſiſtants, Withins and Walcot, found themſelves under a neceſſity of declaring the judgment to be erroneous: but neither this extorted act of juſtice, nor the common law of the court, was ſufficient to act in favour of the priſoner, till he had received the king's moſt gracious pardon; a circumſtance of inſult which the party did not fail to improve into a high act of merit, and which naturally will recall to the remembrance of the reader, that not a ſingle individual had received mercy, where even the ſhadow of a pretence had authoriſed the ſentence of death to be paſſed upon them. Ann. 1684.

A NATURAL timidity of temper, or a high degree of prudence, had ſo properly tempered the heat of party in Dr. Burnet, the famous author of the hiſtory of theſe times, that the court had found no opportunity to make him feel the weight of that reſentment which his principles had excited; he had ſo wiſely checked the ſtrong incentive of a natural curioſity, as to refuſe the receiving that intelligence which his friends, who were engaged in the plot, would very freely have communicated. I will hear nothing, ſays he, that I may poſ-

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Ann. 1684. ſibly be conſtrained to reveal. His prudence, however, could not entirely ſave him from every degree of perſecution: his friend and patron, Sir Harbottle Grimſton, had continued him in his office, as preacher of the Rolls Chapel, and at this particular criſis, when the fears of popery were general among the zealous proteſtants, inſiſted on his preaching on an occaſion no leſs important than the anniverſary of the fifth of November. It muſt be acknowledged, that the occaſion was critical; and that it was impoſſible to avoid the giving offence, without temporiſing in a manner totally unworthy the character of an honeſt man. Burnet choſe the firſt as the leaſt evil, his text was, "Save me from the lions mouth, preſerve me from the horns of the unicorn;" and in the courſe of his ſermon, he took occaſion to mention a kind of curſe which had been uttered by king James the Firſt againſt any of his poſterity who ſhould endeavour to bring in popery into England. In all probability, this was the moſt offenſive part of the diſcourſe; however, the court thought proper to fix it on the text, which the reverend preacher tells us was choſen by him in the ſimplicity of his heart, without once reflecting, that the lion and the unicorn were the two ſupporters of his majeſty's arms. The queſtion of a proſecution was agitated, the lawyers were conſulted, and being divided in their opinion, there was nothing more done in the buſineſs than to oblige Sir Harbottle Grimſtone to diſmiſs the preacher, who thought it ſafeſt in the preſent height of monarchical power to leave the kingdom. So ſtrong indeed was the tide againſt all thoſe who did not farther the deſigns of the court, that Ward, biſhop of Sarum, not being found ſo tractable as his brethren, on the pretence that a grant he had obtained of the king of the ſurplus revenues of the Garter, was deficient

ficient in point of form, was obliged to relinquiſh the grants, and all the profits he had received for it, for the ſpace of ſeveral years: a method of puniſhment which anſwered the double purpoſe of revenge and ſupply, the latter of which was often effected by means yet more diſhonourable, ſuch as in the caſe of a young gentleman of a rich family, not ſuppoſed to be well affected to the court, who, in a quarrel which aroſe at a public ſupper, had unfortunately killed a man. As there were ſeveral people engaged in the fray, it was not certain by whom the man was killed, nor could the proofs carry it beyond man-ſlaughter; yet the young gentleman was, on the promiſe of a pardon, prevailed with to confeſs the indictment, and to let ſentence paſs on him for murder; and when he had thus thrown himſelf into the power of the court, his family were obliged to purchaſe the promiſed pardon at the expence of ſixteen thouſand pounds, which was equally divided between the king and his miſtreſſes. It was not, however, only within the circle of the court that oppreſſion was allowed to triumph; the dæmons of revenge and avarice had taken poſſeſſion of the whole party, and were equally gratified by thoſe monſters in the ſhape of men, who, in the office of juries, had perverted the wiſe and benign regulations of Alfred into an intolerable mode of tyranny. The duke of Beaufort, the earl of Peterborough, and ſeveral others, obtained enormous damages for ſome offenſive words, which had been ſpoken in the heat of party; and with ſuch vehemence was the proſecutions carried on againſt the diſſenters, that they were not only proceeded againſt for going to conventicles, but for not going to church, and for not receiving the ſacrament; and thoſe individuals among the ſectaries, whoſe conſciences Ann. 1684.

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Ann. 1684. ences would not ſuffer them to comply with the demands of power, were excommunicated, and ruined by exceſſive fines.

WHILST the junto in power were thus gratifying their ambition at the expence of the king's adverſaries, they were not totally free from the effects of thoſe malignant paſſions which fell with ſuch weight on the Whig faction. The marquis of Hallifax, whoſe ambition had been ſolely fixed on the object of directing the royal counſels, had in vain endeavoured to maintain his influence in the cabinet by a removal of the duke's creatures and favourites: he had been ſo ſucceſsful in finding out ſome malverſations committed by Laurence Hyde, earl of Rocheſter, in the courſe of the treaſury buſineſs, as to prevent this aſpiring nobleman, notwithſtanding the high favour he ſtood in with the duke, from reviving in his perſon the office of lord treaſurer. However, the earl of Rocheſter had been too deep in the ſecrets of the cabinet to be diſcarded; and the king, who found it neceſſary to preſerve ſome balance againſt the almoſt abſolute power of the duke, endeavoured to ſatisfy both parties at the expence of two of his ſervants, who had ſacrificed both reputation and conſcience to the humours of the court. Sir Lionel Jenkyns was prevailed on to quit, for a valuable conſideration, his office of ſecretary of ſtate to Godolphin, who was of the Rocheſter faction; and the earl of Radnor was removed, to make room for the earl of Rocheſter at the head of the council board.

Project of re-eſtabliſhing popery renewed.

IN this acme of power, the old project of changing the religion of the country was ſeriouſly reſumed by the king, and puſhed on with an eagerneſs peculiar to the warmth

of his temper, by the duke. It was propoſed by Jeffries in the cabinet, that a general jail delivery ſhould be made of all the recuſants, whom the rigour of the laws had deprived of their liberty; but the chancellor North, who regarded the propoſal as a trap to bring him either into diſgrace with the church faction, or to undermine his favour at court, had the dexterity to ward off the blow, by repreſenting, that the proteſtant ſectaries, with whom the priſons were crowded, would, by ſuch a conduct, receive an advantage only intended for the papiſts; an inconvenience which his majeſty might eaſily avoid by extending the favour of his particular pardon to all thoſe papiſts whom he might think proper to indulge and encourage. Ann. 1684.

Laws enacted under a ſyſtem of government ſo complicated as is that of the Engliſh monarchy, muſt neceſſarily partake of contradiction and obſcurity, muſt neceſſarily become a burthen to the ſubject, and often entrap him, under a falſe idea of protection, into a pit of inevitable deſtruction. That ſyſtem of oppreſſion which the prerogative lawyers of theſe days termed ſtrictly legal, had been in a great meaſure planned and conducted by Sir Francis North; who, for theſe ſervices, was promoted, through all the ſteps of the law, to the office of chancellor, with the dignity of a peerage. He had, however, now the mortification of ſeeing his more forward and adventurous rival Jeffries preferred to a higher degree of royal favour and confidence: we are told alſo, that he had melancholy apprehenſions concerning the extreme abuſe of that power which he had ſo highly contributed to eſtabliſh in the crown; but ſuch is the ſtrength of prejudice, when it is in any manner connected with perſonal in-

Ann. 1684. tereſt, that we do not find he regretted the capital part he had himſelf acted in the factious conduct of the times.

The loyal duke of Ormond, by the large military eſtabliſhment he had fixed on the Iriſh, and other regulations favourable to deſpotic power, had rendered that nation entirely ſubſervient to the will of the crown. It was among the boaſted virtues of this nobleman's adminiſtration, that Ireland was not only preſerved in a perfect ſtate of obedience, but the king had a large army at command, ready to tranſport to any part of his dominions, where the mutinous ſpirit of the people ſhould appear againſt the faſhionable doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; and it was on theſe grounds that Ireland was thought the proper ſtage to begin that hopeful reformation, which was intended in the religion of the empire. But though the duke of Ormond had effectually paved the way for this event, yet, on account of his prejudices to the church of England, and his ſtation as head of that party, he was not thought a proper perſon to complete the work, and a flimſey pretext was found to remove him, at a time when he thought himſelf ſecure, on account of his recent diſgraceful ſervices in England, of enjoying for the remainder of his days thoſe ineſtimable fruits which are preferred by courtiers to the leſs glittering yet ſolid honours which attend the dignity of patriotic virtue.

Of all the candidates for royal confidence, the earl of Sunderland was the moſt eſpecially truſted by the king and his brother, both on account of his connexion with the ducheſs of Portſmouth, and the pliancy of his diſpoſition. The earl of Sunderland had been a party in all the French treaties,

treaties, and was the ſecret ſpring of all the politics of the cabinet. A patriot from inclination, and a courtier from intereſt, he had oppoſed the duke's elevation to the crown, as long as he found ſuch a conduct in any degree ſuitable to his perſonal ſafety, or the intereſts of his fortune; but, when by the ſudden turn of popular opinion, and the obſtinacy with which the king ſupported his brother's ſchemes and pretenſions, he found no probable hope of any alteration in the ſyſtem of adminiſtration, he changed his politics with the occaſion, and determined to ſecure a perſonal favour, by rendering his talents ſubſervient to the intentions of a government which he could not circumvent. The earl of Sunderland was early acquainted with the project which had been formed of re-eſtabliſhing the popiſh religion in England; a meaſure which, in the beginning of the reign, appeared too full of difficulty and danger to be imparted even to Buckingham and Lauderdale, but had now, by that univerſal ſervility, which was become the boaſt of all ranks and profeſſions of men, loſt its terrors; and, indeed, what could a miniſter have to fear, when every poſition to limit the omnipotence of kings, either by the rules of the conſtitution, or the dictates of the law, had been repeatedly declared, both by the clergy and the laity, to be traiterous and irreligious. Ann. 1684.

We are told by Burnet, that the removal of the duke of Ormond from the lieutenancy of Ireland was adviſed by lord Sunderland, who farther propoſed the diviſion of the civil and military power; and that the one ſhould be entruſted to the earl of Rocheſter, and the other ſhould be put into ſuch hands as could be moſt religiouſly confided in, for the execution of the grand deſign. Agreeable to this plan of

Ann. 1684. policy, the duke of Ormond, whoſe preſence was no longer neceſſary in England, was diſpatched in all haſte back to his government, where he had not continued a month, when he received advice from his friend, Sir Robert Southwell, that his removal was abſolutely reſolved on; and in leſs than a month, the advice was confirmed by a letter from the king's own hand, by whom he had very lately been cajoled with the promiſe of holding the lieutenancy for life. Though the duke, truſting to appearances, had flattered himſelf that he had left fewer enemies behind him at court than on any other occaſion, yet he bore the diſappointment with his uſual ſerenity, and without any other reflections on the king's ingratitude and inſincerity than what are to be found in a letter to his ſon, the earl of Arran: "In the time of the popiſh plot, my defects and failings, ſays he, were courted; but now they are conſpicuous and muſtered up: my age, my ſloth, my averſion to the Roman catholics, and my negligence in the choice of ſuch as I have recommended to, or placed in the king's ſervice."

King grows diſſatisfied.

THAT mere externals, however ſpecious their appearances, are not of ſufficient weight in the ſcale of human happineſs to ſecure the internal enjoyment of the mind, has been the reſult of all moral ſpeculation, from the earlieſt period of antiquity to the preſent time; and never was there an inſtance, in the annals of human nature, which afforded a more ſtriking inſtance of the truth of this obſervation than the example which hiſtory ſets forth in the perſon of Charles the Second. This prince, according to the idea of vulgar conception, was now arrived at the acme of human happineſs; all thoſe whom he regarded as his enemies, becauſe

the friends of the conſtitution, were proſtrate at his feet; Ann. 1684.
the laws were all ſubverted to the purpoſes of his power; the loud voice of faction had declared, that the deſpotiſm which he affected, was an unalienable and inſeparable right annexed to the office of kingſhip; and all thoſe blemiſhes in his government and vices in his private life which were juſtly the objects of averſion and contempt to the patriotic and religious mind, was, by that univerſal flattery which ever attends unmerited ſucceſs, complimented as perfections of the higheſt rank; and he enjoyed, with the worſt of the Roman emperors, every ſpecies of human incenſe which fell ſhort of deification.

It is agreed by all parties, that the king, in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of the oppoſition, had never expreſſed ſo much uneaſineſs and diſſatisfaction of mind as at this period of his exaltation. Various have been the opinions formed on the cauſe of this extraordinary circumſtance: ſome writers have imagined, that it proceeded from the power and inſolence of the duke's faction, who treated the king as a mere cypher, whilſt they looked up to the duke as a patron, who was, from temper and inclination, more diſpoſed to afford them that firm and ſteady protection requiſite for men who had ſet the laws at defiance, and among whom there were many who had entertained the moſt hoſtile deſigns, both againſt the religion and liberties of the country: others have imagined, that the dangerous attempts to which the imprudent warmth of the duke's temper was continually puſhing the king, gave him apprehenſion and uneaſineſs, and he was overheard to ſay one day, in oppoſing ſome of the duke's haſty counſels, "Brother, I am too old to travel again; you may, if you pleaſe." Other writers again inſiſt,

that

Ann. 1684. that the agitation of the king's mind aroſe from a return of affection for the diſgraced and baniſhed duke of Monmouth, and a recoil of conſcience for the injuries he had done the conſtitution, and the manner in which he had abuſed the power obtained over the Whig faction: but Dalrymple, who, by the poſſeſſion of the papers taken out of the Depot at Verſailles, had a more extenſive knowledge of facts than the leſs modern writers, with much more probability aſcribes the viſible change in the king's temper to the ſtoppage of the payment of the French penſion, which rendered it impoſſible for him to maintain the expences of his houſhold and government without a parliament, an exigence attended with the moſt mortifying circumſtance; as it lay in the power of the French monarch to embroil the king with his beſt friends, and to throw diſgrace and ridicule on the whole faction, for the obſtinacy with which they had always maintained that no ſuch injurious treaties as had been inſiſted on by the patriots, had ever ſubſiſted between Charles and the French court. It is certain, that Lewis and his ambaſſador regarded the king of England as abſolutely in their power. Barillon frequently mentions the threat of making public the king's ſecret tranſactions, as a ſtroke of thunder proper to be made uſe of when all other means ſhould fail; and Charles had lately been made acquainted with Lewis's intrigues with the popular party, and that the abbé Primi, who, during theſe intrigues, had publiſhed a hiſtory of the original treaty made at Dover, had been encouraged in this undertaking by royal authority, and was in the actual enjoyment of a penſion from the court of France. According to theſe facts it is not ſurpriſing, that Charles ſhould be conſcious of a difficulty in his ſituation, which he had never experienced at a period, when his

Dalrymple's Appendix.

affairs

affairs carried the moſt deſperate appearance; however, the neceſſity of his circumſtances, and the reſentment with which he was inſpired againſt his treacherous ally, determined him to run the hazard of a total change in the meaſures of his government. Monmouth was ſent for, and introduced to the king in private; it was determined that the earl of Rocheſter ſhould be diſgraced; that a narrow inſpection ſhould be made into the frauds which had been committed in the treaſury; that the duke of York ſhould be ſent to Scotland; that all the unpopular miniſters ſhould be diſmiſſed; that a parliament ſhould be ſummoned; and that the king ſhould fling himſelf entirely on the good-will of his ſubjects. Ann. 1684.

These wholeſome reſolutions were either taken too late, or promulged too early for the peace of the kingdom, or the king's perſonal ſafety. On the pretence of holding a parliament in Scotland, Charles had ſignified to his brother his deſign of ſending him to that kingdom: the duke inſiſted, that there was no occaſion for the meaſure, on which the king haſtily replied, "Brother, you muſt go, or I." This converſation was followed by a viſible coldneſs and reſerve on the part of the king: the duke's party took the alarm; preparations were making for his royal highneſs's ſudden departure; Monday the ſecond of February, was ſet to inſpect the treaſury books; a new and unuſual concern was to be ſeen in the faces of thoſe individuals of the popiſh party who were employed about the court, when the king's unexpected and critical illneſs and death, ſo providentially turned the whole face of affairs as to involve thoſe whoſe apparent intereſt was eſſentially concerned in the unexpected event, in the

King's ſudden illneſs and death.

Ann. 1685. ſuſpicion of being the criminal authors of their good fortune.

On the ſame Monday that the new plan of reformation was to commence, the king, who had hitherto enjoyed an almoſt uninterrupted ſtate of health, and who had been careful to preſerve the ſtrength of his conſtitution by daily exerciſe, fell ſuddenly ill, complained of an oppreſſion in his ſtomach, and had a kind of fit, which was ſo far relieved by bleeding, that the phyſicians entertained hopes of his recovery until the Thurſday following, when he relapſed, and was pronounced to be in imminent danger. In this extremity he was, according to the uſual form, attended by Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Compton, biſhop of London, and Ken, biſhop of Bath and Wells.

The dying and the unfortunate are commonly in a ſituation to hear truth, becauſe it is no longer the intereſt of their dependants to flatter them. Compton adviſed him to prepare for the worſt; and Sancroft gave him a long and weighty exhortation, in which it is ſaid he uſed a great deal of freedom; but the hour of death, when the energy of the mind muſt be greatly weakened by the oppreſſive ſickneſs of the body, is ſurely a very unfortunate period to begin the painful and laborious exerciſe of deep and ſerious reflection, and conſequent reformation. The king was too ſenſible of the difficulty of the taſk to entertain one thought of undertaking it; he had always cheriſhed a predilection for the doctrine of the church of Rome, on the authority it had aſſumed of forgiving ſins, even in the moſt depraved ſtate of the human mind; and what he was ſuppoſed to have ſaid in jeſt, that the Romiſh religion was the only religion fit for

for a gentleman: he now acted in earneſt, and turning a deaf-ear to the ill-timed advice of theſe ghoſtly fathers, he treated their exhortations with reſerve and contempt, and continued in an obſtinate ſilence. Barillon was the prime confidant of the duke of York, and the ducheſs of Portſmouth, and did not fail in his attendance at Whitehall on this important occaſion: he was ſent for in a great hurry by the ducheſs, whilſt the duke and he were converſing on the favourable proſpect of affairs. Monſieur the ambaſſador, ſays the female favourite, I am going to tell you the greateſt ſecret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known, the king of England at the bottom of his heart is a catholic; but he is ſurrounded with proteſtant biſhops, and no body tells him his condition, or ſpeaks to him of God. I cannot with decency enter the room; beſides that, the queen is almoſt conſtantly there, the duke of York thinks of his own affairs, and has too many to take the care he ought of the king's conſcience; go and tell him that I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to ſave the king's ſoul: he commands the room, and can turn out whom he will; loſe no time, for if it is deferred ever ſo little, it will be too late. Barillon performed the part enjoined him, and the duke of York entered with great zeal into the ducheſs of Portſmouth's ſentiments: he found means to ſpeak with the king, who aſſured him, that he never would be brought to receive the ſacrament from any of the proteſtant biſhops; and the difficulty now lay in the clearing the room of theſe troubleſome prelates, and the reſt of the proteſtant attendants, and the finding out a prieſt who would be hardy enough to adminiſter the ſacraments to his majeſty. One Hudleſtone, a Scotchman, who had ſaved the king's life Ann. 1685.

Ann. 1685. after the battle of Worceſter, and who for this reaſon had been excepted in all the laws made againſt the papiſts, chearfully undertook the taſk of ſaving his majeſty's better part, his ſoul: he was conducted into the anti-chamber in diſguiſe; it was now ſignified to the company, that the king deſired that every body ſhould retire except the earls of Bath and Feverſham: Hudleſtone was introduced into the royal bed-chamber, by the faithful Chiffins; his majeſty ſolemnly promiſed to declare himſelf openly a papiſt, if he recovered his health; and, after a formal confeſſion of his faith and his ſins, received abſolution, the communion, and the extreme unction. When theſe ceremonies were over, the king's chaplain, the biſhop of Bath and Wells, was re-admitted; but, according to Barillon, either from the apprehenſion of a refuſal, or the fear of irritating the duke of York, he was not officious on the point of preſſing the king to make any profeſſion of his faith. If we may believe the popiſh writers, and, in particular, Barillon, from whoſe letters to the king of France almoſt the whole of this account is taken, Charles appeared much more eaſy after the confeſſion he had made of his faith, and the receiving the ſacraments of the church of Rome: he expreſſed himſelf alſo in terms full of tenderneſs, friendſhip, and even gratitude to the duke of York, aſked his forgiveneſs for the vexation which any part of his paſt conduct might have occaſioned him, recommended the ducheſs of Portſmouth and all his children, except the duke of Monmouth, to his care and protection; and died with a tolerable compoſure of mind, though in great pain of body, between the hours of eight and nine in the morning, on the ſixth of February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

The

THE drawing the characters of thoſe unfortunate individuals whoſe conduct is the proper object of ſatire rather than of panegyric, is the moſt invidious and the moſt diſtreſsful part of hiſtoric compoſition; becauſe deſcriptions ſufficiently animated to point out the oppoſite nature and conſequences of vice and virtue to the vulgar, are contrary to the judgments and feelings of philoſophy, which regards with an eye of compaſſion that infatuation of mind which leads men to prefer the diſgrace and miſery conſequent to the one, to the tranquillity, happineſs, and true honour which muſt neceſſarily attend the other; and becauſe it is an undoubted fact, that it is education and circumſtances which alone form the man, and which alone preſerve the innocence of the weak, and give the luſtre of virtue to the ſplendid qualities of genius and underſtanding. It is an obſervation among the vulgar, when they wiſh to expreſs a high degree of acrimony againſt an unfortunate ſinner, that the wretch had a ſufficient underſtanding to have acted better; but the hiſtory of human miſery very fatally ſhews, that a quick and enlightened underſtanding, as it is neceſſarily attended with a warm imagination and ſtrong paſſions, if not guarded by a good education, and ſupported by virtuous habits, will always, in proportion to the ſtrength of its abilities, deviate from the rule of right; becauſe it will naturally purſue with more energy the objects of miſtaken happineſs. It is under the laſt of theſe deſcriptions, that we may juſtly claſs Charles the Second, on whom nature had beſtowed powers, which, if properly exerted, might have conſtituted an heroic character; but which, by an adverſe fate, enabled him to exceed in wickedneſs and folly all the princes who had ever ſat on the Engliſh throne. Ann. 1685.

Ann. 1685. AMONG thoſe favourable incidents which aſſiſted to complete the good fortune of the popular Elizabeth, the adverſities of her youth, and the maturity of her age when ſhe was advanced to the dignity of ſovereign power, have been juſtly conſidered as the moſt advantageous; becauſe, by the inſight it gave her into the human character, it enabled her, ſo artfully to adapt a ſyſtem of ſelfiſhneſs, to the appearances of magnanimity, and the prejudices of the vulgar, as to reconcile a very high degree of injuſtice and tyranny with that reputation which, in the eye of reaſon, is alone due to the benefactors of mankind: but, as in the current of human affairs, a very trifling difference, even in minute circumſtances, is attended with ſuch important conſequences as to produce an entire oppoſition of effects, ſo the unhappy fate of the firſt Charles, and the adverſity into which it neceſſarily threw his ſon, by depriving him of the advantages of parental care, and expoſing him, at a time of life when the paſſions are the ſtrongeſt and the judgment the weakeſt, to the perfidious licentiouſneſs which prevailed in the court of France, gave ſuch a ſtrength and power to the natural biaſs of his diſpoſition, as totally to efface every veſtige of that moral ſenſe which helps to form the mixt character of the generality of mankind, and which is ſeldom entirely loſt, even by the moſt flagitious. If with the jaundiced eye of prejudice we can excuſe, and even applaud the mean hypocriſy uſed by Charles, during his abode with the Scotch convenanters, the breach of his oaths, and the barbarity with which he afterwards treated this people, when exalted to a kind of deſpotic power over them, with the perſecutions with which he repaid the ſervices of the Engliſh preſbyterians; what can even the voice of faction ſay to the ingratitude with

with which he treated the ancient and faithful friends of the fortunes of his family; and the diſmiſſing all thoſe with ignominy who endeavoured to reconcile the prerogative of the king with the ſafety of the nation and the exiſtence of the conſtitution? What can the voice of faction ſay to the palpable neglect which this prince, in ſeveral inſtances, paid to his father's memory; and, in particular, in the accepting a ſum of money for the expence of his funeral, and the pocketing of it for his private uſe? What can the voice of faction ſay to the treatment of their avowed and ſteady patron, the earl of Clarendon; what to the king's behaviour to the duke of Ormond, in the caſe of Blood, &c. and what to the indifference with which he treated the memory of a ſiſter, whom he pretended to love with the higheſt degree of affection? If with the men of pleaſure, and the thoughtleſs companions of the bottle, we view with complacency, and even with applauſe, the licentious manners of a prince infected with the vices of every country which had yielded an aſylum to his wandering ſteps, is it poſſible not to reflect, that Charles was totally deficient in that kind of ſympathy and indolent good-nature which often accompany the effeminacy of a luxurious life; and that the unjuſt ſeverity, and even cruelty with which he treated all thoſe whom he regarded as his enemies, are blemiſhes not to be excuſed, when united to the ſevereſt manners and the higheſt rectitude of principle. Ann. 1685.

If with the papiſts, we applaud the king for the pious deſign he had entertained of reſtoring the Britiſh empire to the church of Rome; what can we ſay to the eaſy manner in which he abandoned this deſign, and the whole party, to their inveterate enemies? What can we ſay to the breach of

Ann. 1683. of the promiſe he had made to this body, that he would declare his converſion, and avow his patronage after the receiving a ſum of money for this purpoſe from the court of France? And what can we ſay to the mean manner in which he concealed his predilection to popery till the hour of his deceaſe, in which he vainly hoped to ſecure a ſafe paſſage to the regions of eternal bliſs, from the merits of a ſubmiſſion extorted by the terrors of an affrightened conſcience? And if with the zealous churchmen, we regard him as the patron of the reſtored privileges of that holy body, what excuſe can we make for the deep deſigns he had entered into, of ſacrificing all thoſe ſacred rights to the ambition of papiſts, and the intereſts of the papal chair?

In the duties of private life, we are told by the panegyriſts of Charles, that his conduct, though not free from exception, was in the main laudable: but though a large meaſure of indulgence is to be given to the foibles, the infirmities, and even the vices of every man or woman, who has not received the benefits which ariſe from a perfect form of education, yet we cannot poſſibly treſpaſs ſo highly on our ſenſe of propriety, decency, and the ineſtimable virtues of ſobriety, as to rank that facility with which the king became the conſtant dupe of his amorous inclinations and paſſion for variety, among the good qualities of a rational agent; nor can we agree to the obſervation, that Charles was a civil and obliging huſband, merely on the merit of his not having ſacrificed an innocent woman to the venom of party ſpirit. On the contrary, ſetting aſide the advantages of affluence, and the ſplendor of rank, the queen's ſituation muſt be conſidered as equally mortifying to that in which every other female is involved, whom a ſevere fate unites in the

the indiſſoluble bonds of matrimony with a profligate rake. Ann. 1685.
On the ſubject of the king's conſtancy to the duke of York's intereſt, it is obſervable, that a coldneſs and mutual jealouſy prevailed between the two brothers till the period of the firſt French treaty; a circumſtance which rendered all future diſſention dangerous to the peace and happineſs of both. Burnet aſſerts, that Charles both hated and feared his brother; and Sir John Rereſby, who has manifeſted the higheſt degree of partiality to the conduct of the king, allows that it was motives of policy alone which were the grounds of his inflexible patronage: as on this ſingle inſtance therefore, thus circumſtanced and oppoſed by the whole tenor of Charles's public and private conduct, it is impoſſible to agree with the duke of Buckingham, that this prince was even inclined to juſtice *; or with the reſt of his panegyriſts, to found on the merits of the act of indemnity, extorted from the neceſſity of the times, a propenſity in his diſpoſition to clemency and forgiveneſs; we muſt conclude, that the harſh picture drawn of Charles the Second, by biſhop Burnet, is a

* On this extravagant aſſertion of the duke of Buckingham, it may not be improper to repeat the following anecdote, as related by Burnet. The earl of Ranelagh, ſays this author, had the art of pleaſing maſters of very different tempers and intereſts, ſo much, that he continued above thirty years in great poſts: he had undertaken for the building of Windſor out of the revenue of Ireland, and it was believed the ducheſs of Portſmouth had a great yearly penſion out of his office; by theſe means, payments in Ireland were not regularly made. The king would not own how much he had from lord Ranelagh, but preſſed lord Eſſex to paſs his accounts: he anſwered, he could not paſs them as accounts; but, if his majeſty would forgive lord Ranelagh, he would paſs a diſcharge, but not an ill account. The king was diſpleaſed with this, and the exactneſs of the earl's government, ſo he took a reſolution to replace the duke of Ormond in the poſt of lord lieutenant, on which occaſion the earl of Eſſex informed the author, that lord Coventry being troubled to ſee the king eſpouſe the worſt ſide at the board of council on a plantation cauſe, told him ſecretly, that it was a vile cauſe he was ſupporting, and received for anſwer, that his majeſty had got a good ſum of money for doing it. Burnet, fol. edit. vol. i. p. 398.

juſt

Ann. 1685. juſt likeneſs, viz. that he had enormous vices without the tincture of any virtue to correct them; that under the appearance of gentleneſs, he concealed a cruel and unrelenting heart; and under the maſk of ſincerity, the higheſt degree of hypocriſy and diſſimulation; that he was void not only of every princely, but every manly ſentiment; that he was as incapable of friendſhip as of integrity; that he conſidered power and the truſt which accompany it, in no other light, than as the means to gratify his criminal and ſelfiſh paſſions; that he acted as the foe rather than the protector of his people; and that it was lewdneſs, indolence, and the love of eaſe, which were the ſingle correctors to that rage for abſolute power which infects almoſt all princes; and which, but for the predominancy of leſs exalted paſſions, Charles would have purſued with a vigilance equal to the importance of the undertaking; and which, notwithſtanding the unconquerable indolence of his temper, the depravity of the times had in a great meaſure enabled him to effect.

If we take a view of the turbulent reign of Charles the Firſt, and the government of Charles the Second, it will lead us to diſcover, that of all moral evils, the convulſions of civil diſcord not excepted, there are none which bear any proportion to thoſe which ariſe from the ſtability of power in corrupt hands; and ſhould the largeſt credit be given to what has been advanced by the earl of Clarendon, in reſpect to the decorum preſerved in the conduct of the royal martyr and his court, we ſhall have room to animadvert on that depravity of religious and philoſophic ſentiment, which neceſſarily accompanies the pleaſures and the pomp of royalty.

THROUGH all the exteriors of decent deportment preſerved by this prince, it muſt be confeſſed that thoſe ſalutary principles of conduct which are calculated to extend the bleſſings of private poſſeſſion to the community at large, and ſo ſtrongly enforced by the precepts of the Goſpel, gave way to that overbearing ſpirit of inſolence which ever attends perſonal diſtinction, power, and opulence. Should the ſacred writings of the New Teſtament be put into the hands of an individual entirely ignorant of the hiſtory of Chriſtian monarchies, his imagination would be fired with the contemplation of a golden age returned to man: he would eagerly enquire where thoſe ſocieties were to be found, who, profeſſing ſo pure a faith, who, enlightened with ſuch divine inſtructions and precepts, accompanied on the one hand with tremendous threats in caſe of diſobedience, and ſplendid promiſes on the other in caſe of conformity, muſt neceſſarily act on ſuch a plan of faultleſs morality, as to make men taſte the bleſſings of an earthly paradiſe, before they entered into the regions of everlaſting bliſs. In what quarter of the globe are thoſe bleſſed ſocieties to be found, would he ſay, where humility and brotherly love, where moderation and ſobriety, reign; where all the heavenly virtues prevail, and where the dæmons of pride, revenge, and tyranny, the attributes of Pagan deities, give way to every ſpecies of benevolence, which tend to leſſen the evils of human exiſtence? Such a reformation in the conduct of mankind was undoubtedly one of the important objects of Chriſt's miſſion, and the neceſſary conſequence of a ſteady and uniform adherence to his doctrine and precepts, it was the balm which helped to ſupport the primitive chriſtians through all the terrors of a bloody perſecution; but no ſooner was the croſs of Chriſt crucified united to the imperial banners, no ſooner did the luſts of power, office, and favour, diſplay their bewitching charms to the frail ſenſes of Ann. 1685.

Ann. 1685. the followers of Chriſt, no ſooner did the church militant triumph in the ſpoils of Pagan ſuperſtition, than the temporal advantages which enſued overcame almoſt inſtantaneouſly every part of that allegiance to a crucified God, which had continued firm againſt every form of human violence. From this unfortunate period began that conteſt for power among the different ſects of Chriſtians, which ſtain for a long period of time the annals of the Chriſtian hiſtory; from this unfortunate period every virtue, which, through the vale of complicated miſery, had ſhone with a ſplendor ſufficient to combat the prejudices of education ſupported by power, gave way to thoſe faſcinations which had overwhelmed the world in ſorrow from the firſt ages of man. Prieſts, inſtead of keeping to the plain and ſimple meaning of the Goſpel, thought proper to reconcile the moſt pernicious luſts of humanity with their devotion to a maſter, whoſe doctrine is founded on the principles of a rigid ſelf-denial, accompanied with an unbounded benevolence, and in defiance of that ſevere text of ſcripture which ſhuts the gates of heaven againſt the rich, on account of the almoſt neceſſary vices which accompany this ſtate of temporal felicity, inſtead of endeavouring, even with the Pagan philoſophers, to ſuppreſs the unbounded luxuries and pride of courts, with the vain glorious pomp of the opulent: by fixing the attention of mankind on the rational purſuits of mental enjoyment, they emulated the civil magiſtrates in every noxious point of conduct; and whilſt they were obtaining power and riches by the influence they had gained over the eaſy credulity of man, they aſſumed a ſpiritual authority for governing their conſciences with an implicit ſway.

The period of the Reformation, though it cleanſed the ſanctuary of much of that carnal filth it had acquired, during

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ing the halcyon days of the church; yet it did not in this country effect any very eſſential reformation either in the morals of the laity or the clergy: on the contrary, as it ſubjected the church to the authority of the civil magiſtrate, by depriving it of its independent power, religion became more than ever the engine of ſtate policy; the attention of the multitude was diverted from all the moral parts of the Goſpel, by fixing it on ſpeculative points of faith; and the moſt noxious pretenſions of royalty were ſolemnly authoriſed by the church of England: paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were preached up as eſſential points of human conduct, and an implicit ſubmiſſion to an idol created by human power, was ſet forth as one of the moſt neceſſary parts of religious duty. Ann. 1685.

The reformation of abuſes is ſo congenial to the active ſpirit of man, and his perceptions of truth, that whilſt any virtue remains in ſociety untainted by the corruptions of intereſt, the baſeneſs of ſervitude, or the enervating powers of luxury, there will ever be found a conſiderable party active in the uſeful purſuit of correcting thoſe errors in ſpiritual and civil government, to which they are neceſſarily ſubjected from human vice and infirmity.

The inquiſitive ſpirit of mankind, checked by the policy of the church of Rome, which excluded private judgment, or even examination into the meaning of the ſacred writings, exerted the liberty it had gained by the ſyſtem of the reformation with a vigour which ever accompanies novelty and the uſe of new acquired rights; hence numerous ſects aroſe, who were equally ambitious of reſtoring Chriſtianity to its primitive purity, and particularly of re-eſtabliſhing that

Ann. 1685. parity among churchmen which prevailed during the firſt ages of the Chriſtian church. The ſucceſs which attended theſe reformers was ſufficient to revive all that energy in religion which the ſlothful, carnal, and ſelfiſh conduct of the clergy, for a long ſeries of ages, had helped to extinguiſh. When the cauſe of religion and virtue is ſuppoſed not only to be patronized, but aſſiſted by the influence of divine power, there can be no bounds to the zeal of human exertion; and on theſe reaſons, the devotion and vigour of faith univerſally found in all the different ſects of reformers, did not give place to the paſſionate ſpirit of religion in the firſt Chriſtians, and continued till the intereſting period of Cromwell's uſurpation, and the conſequent period of the Reſtoration; an event which, by turning the courſe of government to the old channels, acted in direct oppoſition to the ſucceſs which had attended the reformers in the civil wars. The ſeeming deſertion of Providence at a time when, to the eye of the enthuſiaſt, matters were tending to the eſtabliſhment of a new Jeruſalem on earth, in which the pureſt tenets of the Goſpel were to be reduced to general practice, gave a conſiderable ſhock to religious confidence, and enlarged the narrow limits into which ſcepticiſm had hitherto ranged to a dangerous extent; and as the ſpirit of devotion had proved fatal to the power of the crown and the temporalities of the clergy, due care was taken to prevent the revival of a principle ſo formidably active. It was in the licentious reign of Charles the Second that writings were firſt publicly broached, which called in queſtion the divine authority of Chriſt's miſſion, and all thoſe glorious promiſes of the Goſpel, which, if firmly believed, muſt in a great meaſure prevail over human vice and infirmity. It was in this licentious age that thoſe baneful ſyſtems of philoſophy were reviv-

ed, which, by calling in queſtion the future exiſtence of man *, ſtrips the Deity of the attributes of juſtice and goodneſs; deſtroys every benevolent end in the creation; renders it the ſplendid work of an ingenious and all powerful artiſt, devoid of every principle of true wiſdom and greatneſs; ſets looſe the vicious and inordinate affections of the artful and the powerful to prey on the weak, the ſimple, and the injudicious; and, by adding the inſupportable horrors of deſpair to the afflictions of the infortunate, increaſe the evils of human exiſtence beyond the poſſibility of human bearing: hence proceeds the numerous ſuicides, and all thoſe acts of violence and deſperation, which help to ſadden the annals of the Engliſh hiſtory. Ann. 1685.

OPINIONS tending to eſtabliſh the belief of a ſupreme governor, and which call in queſtion thoſe attributes on which the happineſs of all created beings muſt neceſſarily depend, or the more monſtrous ſuppoſition, that the virtues of the di-

* The extenſive miſery which prevails in this world, the inequality of human happineſs, the ſufferings of the virtuous, the ſucceſs of the artful and wicked man, with that monſtrous abuſe of power which neceſſarily attends the vices of the human character, have induced among the wiſe and good in all ages the belief of a future ſtate of exiſtence. All the Stoic philoſophers, who entertained any doubts on this important point, in order to juſtify their Jupiter, are obliged to allow their diſciples the free uſe of ſuicide, whenever the ſtate of their ſufferings may exceed the meaſure of their patience and fortitude. Perhaps there is not a greater inſult on human underſtanding than the aſſertion, that the wretched have no rational expectations from the juſtice and benevolence of God; that the balance is in favour of happineſs; and that the ſorrows of a certain portion of individuals are neceſſary to the rejoicing of others; all thoſe who, on the principles of the mortality of man, have attempted to reconcile moral and natural evil with the attributes of wiſdom and juſtice in the Deity, have miſerably failed in the attempt, not excepting even the elegant and correct pen of the earl of Shafteſbury. The beſt of all poſſible worlds has been very ſeverely and juſtly ridiculed by the ſatirical Voltaire; it is indeed, impoſſible not to ſee, that were this the only ſtage of human exiſtence, the corporal and mental conſtitutions of the ſpecies might have been modelled, by an omnipotent Being, in a manner as to have rendered this world a paradiſe of univerſal happineſs.

vine

Ann. 1685. vine character are of a different nature and complexion from thoſe which reaſon approves in man, lead to concluſions evidently more miſchievous than atheiſm, becauſe it admits a query, whether the malignant cruelty of a Nero may not be more ſimilar to the character of the Deity, than the virtues of a Socrates. When opinions thus baneful co-operated with the example of an univerſal depravity in the manners of the great, and was immediately followed by all thoſe undermining miſchiefs which attend the ſucceſſes of a government founded on corruption, it cannot be a matter of aſtoniſhment that the courſe of vice, in England, ſhould be attended with a rapidity which, in a little more than a hundred years, has brought the nation to an acme of wickedneſs, which touches at the height of all that is contemptible and hateful in rational agents; it cannot be a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the deceitful appearances of pleaſure, the vanities of ſhew and parade, with the oſtentation of wealth and diſtinction, ſhould exclude every idea of patriotiſm and public good; that the rich ſhould deſpiſe thoſe inſtructive writings in religion, morals, and politics, which inculcate the duties of moderation, forbearance, juſtice, charity, and univerſal benevolence, even at the expence of every ſelfiſh advantage; that the great body of the nation ſhould be encouraged in every vice which tends to divert them from the purſuits of preſent welfare or future happineſs; and that every ſalutary admonition ſhould be treated with general contempt, and every eminent degree of public virtue perſecuted with an unremitting rancour. It is on theſe reaſons, that in contradiction to that great oracle of hiſtory, Mr. Hume, we cannot help thinking that the cure of fanaticiſm, by the prevalence of licentiouſneſs, debauchery, and irreligion, was a very great evil rather than a benefit to the kingdom; and

that

that the miſtaken grounds of religious and moral conduct, Ann. 1685.
on which ſome of the fanatics acted, could never have been ſo deſtructive and univerſal in its conſequences as the total loſs of all principle, both moral and religious.

Bishop Burnet aſſerts of Charles the Second, that when he ſaw any young men of quality of promiſing parts, he drew them about him, and ſet himſelf to corrupt them both in religion and morality; in which he proved ſo unhappily ſucceſsful, that he left England much changed at his death from what he had found it at his reſtoration; and Mr. Hume confeſſes, that the libertiniſm of the king, and the vitiated taſte of his court, ſerved rather to corrupt than to improve the ſcience of the belles lettres: but the fatal blow which this prince gave to religion, was the blending of carnal and ſpiritual purſuits, by reſtoring the biſhops to their ſeats in parliament. Were theſe fathers of the church confined to the divine object of their ſpiritual inſtitution, and thus guarded from the temptations of ambition, and that general contempt which muſt ever follow apparent corruption in the profeſſed ſervants of Chriſt, they would naturally attract an eſteem and veneration from the multitude, which, when united to a proper attention to the ſacred and important duties of their function, would preſerve order and decency through the whole body of the clergy, inſpire a ſpirit of true religion in the laity, and preſerve a happy medium between the extremes of fanaticiſm and a hopeleſs ſcepticiſm; and an eſtabliſhment in the hearts of the people, on a due ſenſe of ſpiritual and moral advantage, would undoubtedly be a ſounder ſecurity for all the juſt rights of the church than the ſlippery foundations of a corrupt and carnal policy.

Much

Ann. 1685. MUCH has been ſaid, by the admirers of the politics of theſe times, of the commercial advantages which enſued from the neutrality preſerved by Charles after the period when he had been obliged to make peace with the Dutch; but if, on the one hand, it muſt be acknowleged that the running into unneceſſary wars has, ever ſince the Revolution, been the folly of the Engliſh, and muſt in time prove the deſtruction of their empire, yet one vigorous and wiſe meaſure on the entrance of Charles's government would have weakened the nerves of the French power for ages to come; would have ſaved that deluge of blood which was ſhed by Lewis, in the purſuit of univerſal empire; and had any ſuch wiſe and vigorous meaſures prevailed before the peace of Nimeguen, it muſt, in all probability, have totally prevented the immenſe and enormous expences which Great Britain has ſince paid for this tranſitory period of affluence and proſperity.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

James's ſpeech to the privy-council.—Cuſtoms and exciſe levied by royal authority.—King ſhews marks of reſentment to the Whigs.—Parliament.—Servile conduct of the commons.—Revenue ſettled on the king for life.—Puniſhment of Oates and Dangerfield.—Raſh enterprize of Argyle, and Monmouth's invaſion.—Argyle invades Scotland.—Argyle's army reduced to the neceſſity of diſperſing.—Argyle taken, conveyed to Edinburgh, and executed.—Execution of Ayloffe and Rumbold.—Monmouth invades England.—Monmouth's progreſs in the Weſt.—Monmouth crowned at Taunton.—Infatuated conduct of Monmouth.—Monmouth attacks the king's troops, and is defeated.—Monmouth taken, conveyed to London, and executed.—Cruelties exerciſed on the inſurgents and others.—Affairs of Scotland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advantages which attended James's ſituation, and that peculiar ſpirit of party which had hitherto ſupported his pretenſions to the throne, the general ſubmiſſion of the people to the government of a papiſt ſurpaſſed his expectations; and the aſſurances given him from every quarter, that all was quiet in the city, and that he would be proclaimed king the inſtant his brother was dead, was communicated by him to his confidant Barillon with a mixture of joy and ſurprize: nor is it to be wondered, that in the tumult of pleaſure and expectation felt by the new king, and all thoſe who hoped to ſhare in his fortunes, that the dead body of the late monarch ſhould be treated with Ann. 1685.

Ann. 1685. an indecent neglect, or conſidering the provocation given to the party in the determinations which had been taken for a change of meaſures, that his funeral ſhould be conducted on the principles of the ſtricteſt parſimony, or that this tender father of his people, and the great protector of their laws, as he had often been termed by his flatterers, ſhould be laid, without either ceremony or apparent regret, to corrupt with the carcaſſes of his anceſtors: circumſtances like theſe frequently occur in hiſtory; and, to the mortification of ſelf-importance, exhibit an inſtructive leſſon to all princes.

James's ſpeech to the privy-council.

THE firſt act of James's reign was to aſſemble the privy-council, to whom he declared, that he would endeavour to follow the example of his brother in all things, eſpecially in that of his great clemency towards his people; and that he would likewiſe endeavour to preſerve the government in church and ſtate, after paying a compliment to the church of England, for the loyalty of its principles: he acknowledged that the laws of England were ſufficient to make the king as great a monarch as he could wiſh; and as he ſhould never depart, he ſaid, from the juſt rights and prerogatives of the crown, ſo he would never invade any man's property: he had often heretofore ventured his life in defence of the nation, and he ſhould ſtill go as far as any man in preſerving it in all its juſt rights and liberties.

As the laſt reign had almoſt from its commencement, been a continued ſcene of injury, cruelty, and violence, the mockery of promiſing to imitate the late king in his clemency and tenderneſs to his people, muſt have appeared to all thinking perſons as a prelude to the continuation of the ſame

ſame ſeries of injuſtice; and the lawyers had taken ſuch care to adapt the forms of law to a complete ſyſtem of tyranny, that the laſt part of the king's ſpeech could give little comfort to any man who retained any juſt notion of legal government, or any genuine ſenſe of political liberty: however, as the cruelties of Charles the Second had only fallen on thoſe who were the objects of deteſtation of the prevalent party, and as every idea of legal or conſtitutional government, other than the ſupporting the rights of the church, had been formally diſavowed as ariſing from traiterous, ſeditious, and unchriſtian principles, the king's declaration gave a general ſatisfaction to the Tories; every pulpit in England reſounded with its praiſes, and it was magnified as a far greater ſecurity than laws could give: "We have now, exclaimed the faction, the word of a king, and a word which has never yet been broken." Ann. 1685.

ADDRESSES came from all quarters, full of the moſt ſervile adulation: the univerſity of Oxford promiſed obedience without limitations or reſtrictions; both Whig and Tory haſtened to pay their court to the new monarch, and James had reaſon to think, that, notwithſtanding the violent efforts which had been made for his excluſion, no throne in Europe was better eſtabliſhed than that of England.

To prevent any petitions of his ſubjects on this head, James deemed it prudent to call a parliament; but at the ſame time he manifeſted his contempt for the authority of this aſſembly, by iſſuing out a proclamation, ordering the cuſtoms and exciſe to be paid as before the deceaſe of his brother. Cuſtoms and exciſe levied by royal authority.

Ann. 1685. It was the levying theſe duties without the conſent of parliament which gave riſe to the quarrel between Charles the Firſt and his people, and was utterly inconſiſtent with the law and conſtitution; but James would not deign to qualify this exertion of power by the leaſt act or even appearance of condeſcenſion: and though it undoubtedly proved that either he was not ſincere in his attachment to the laws, or he had entertained ſo high an idea of his own legal power, that his ſincerity in this point would tend very little to ſecure the liberties of the people; yet ſuch was the proſtitute baſeneſs of the faction, that a new round of addreſſes were procured on the ſubject of this alarming violation of popular privilege, if poſſible more fulſome and more unconſtitutional than thoſe which had congratulated the king on his acceſſion to the throne; and in theſe his majeſty was promiſed that no members ſhould be returned in parliament, who were not zealouſly attached to his perſonal intereſt, and to the power and dignity of the crown.

It is no wonder, that the king, who had not condeſcended to diſſemble his ſentiments on temporal affairs, ſhould not play the hypocrite on points in which his conſcience was materially concerned. On the firſt Sunday after his acceſſion to the throne, he went publicly with all the enſigns of royalty to the celebration of the maſs; and in order to manifeſt the ſuperior integrity of his conduct to that of the late king, he ordered Hudleſton to publiſh a relation of that prince's having taken the laſt ſacrament, according to the rites of the church of Rome; and at the ſame time he publiſhed, in his own name, two papers written in his brother's hand writing,

in favour of the Roman catholic doctrines, with a declaration that they had been found in the royal ſtrong box. Ann. 1685.

THOUGH it is ſaid that the Revolutioniſts were as officious as the Tories in making their compliments to the new ſovereign, yet James, in order effectually to damp the hopes of this party, and to keep them in order by the terror of an after-reckoning, received their addreſſes, not only with great coldneſs, but even with viſible marks of diſpleaſure: ſeveral of the moſt obnoxious of the party he refuſed to ſee; and a relation of the Rye-houſe plot, written with great virulence of expreſſion, and in which an averment was made, that James knew of twenty thouſand perſons who had been engaged in it, was publiſhed by Spratt, biſhop of Rocheſter, under the ſanction of royal authority. King ſhews marks of reſentment to the Whigs.

A STRONG oppoſition had been made to James's influence in the cabinet, whilſt duke of York, by the marquis of Hallifax; yet this ductile nobleman eſcaped without other mortification than the ſeeing his rival, the earl of Rocheſter, put in poſſeſſion of the much envied office of lord of the treaſury; and when Hallifax was making apologies to the king for his paſt conduct, he politely told him, that he would forget all his behaviour except in the affair of the excluſion; and though ſeveral removals were made in order to gratify the king's favourites, yet he continued the chief offices of the crown in the hands of the proteſtants: but at the ſame time he was very free in declaring, that men muſt now look for a more active and a more vigilant government, and that he would retain no miniſters who did

Ann. 1685. did not practiſe an unreſerved obedience to his commands.

The ſeizure which had been made of the charters in the laſt reign put the elections entirely into the hands of the crown: the higheſt uſe was made of this advantage; nor is it in the power of deſcription to give a more adequate idea of the underſtanding and characters of the men who, on this important criſis, were to determine the fate of the empire, than the king's obſervation on examining the bill of returns, "There is not above forty members ſays he, but ſuch as I wiſh for."

Parliament. It was on the nineteenth of May, three months after the king's acceſſion to the throne, that the parliament met. James, in his ſpeech on this occaſion, repeated with great ſolemnity the promiſe which he had made before the privy-council, of governing according to the laws, and of preſerving the eſtabliſhed religion; and at the ſame time he gave the aſſembly to underſtand, that he poſitively expected that they would ſettle a revenue on him during life, as in the time of his brother. "I might urge many arguments, ſaid he, to enforce this demand; the benefit of trade, the ſupport of the navy, the neceſſities of the crown, and the well-being of the government itſelf, which I muſt not ſuffer to be precarious; but I am confident your own conſideration, and your ſenſe of what is juſt and reaſonable, will ſuggeſt to you whatever on this occaſion might be enlarged on. There is, indeed, one popular argument which may be urged againſt complying with my demand; men may think, that by feeding me from time to time with ſuch ſupplies as they think convenient, they will better ſecure future meetings of parliament;

liament; but as this is the first time I speak to you from the throne, I must plainly tell you, that such an expedient would be very improper to employ with me, and the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well." Ann. 1685.

It was impossible for any man, of the meanest understanding, not to interpret the plain and direct meaning of this language, which plainly intimated that the king had resources in his prerogative for supporting the government independent of parliamentary supplies; and that so long as parliaments complied with his demands, and no longer, he would have recourse to them; but that any opposition to his will on their part, would set him free from measures which he regarded in the light of a voluntary concession, but by no means a necessary part of constitutional government: yet the commons, lost to every sense of national safety, personal dignity, or the duty of trust; without bestowing one thought on the state of the nation, or the grievances of particular corporations; without once touching on the breach which had been made in the constitution by the king's applying the revenue to his own use; without the authority of parliament, or proposing any expedient to prevent the like mischief for the future; without making any provision for the strengthening and securing their own privileges, which had been flagrantly violated in the case of Williams, the late speaker, they resolved nemine contradicente, that the humble thanks of the house be given to his majesty for his gracious speech, and that all the revenue given to his late majesty, and enjoyed by him at his death, be given and granted to his present majesty, and settled upon him during his life.

Servile conduct of the commons.

Revenue settled on the king for life.

Ann. 1685. If it was poſſible to heighten the baſeneſs and folly of this conduct of the commons by any additional act of abſurdity, it was in the following vote, which paſſed immediately after the ſettlement of the revenue; that the houſe entirely relied on his majeſty's royal word, and repeated declarations, to ſupport the religion of the church of England, which was dearer to them than their lives. When this vote, which either proceeded from the meaneſt hypocriſy, or manifeſted an uncommon degree of ſottiſh infatuation was related to the king by the ſpeaker, it was treated with all the contempt it deſerved, his majeſty not vouchſafing to anſwer one word in favour of a religion, on which he was told his dutiful commons ſet ſo high a value; nor did this ſignificant ſilence affect in any degree the conduct of the houſe: on the contrary, when a farther ſupply was demanded for the navy and other purpoſes, they added ſix hundred thouſand pounds a-year to the king's income; and this addition, with what had been enjoyed by this prince, as duke of York, raiſed the revenue to the enormous ſum of two millions, a revenue greater than any king of England had poſſeſſed from the time of William the Conqueror's death, and eight hundred thouſand pounds more than the ſum with which his brother had been enabled to ſet all parliamentary oppoſition at defiance.

The houſe of lords, not only concurred with the commons in the ruinous meaſure of rendering the king entirely independent of parliamentary reſtraint, but they went greater lengths by ſtigmatiſing their former conduct in regard to the popiſh plot: they reverſed and annulled all the orders which had paſſed their houſe reſpecting lord Danby, and the three

popiſh

popiſh lords, and abſolutely went ſo far as to paſs a bill, reverſal of the attainder of the lord viſcount Stafford; but this was thought too great a victory to yield to the papiſts in the beginning of a popiſh reign, and the commons did not care to incur the odium of laying the foundation of thoſe triumphs which the proſpect of affairs had already anticipated to the party. Ann. 1685.

Previous to theſe reſolutions of the lords, Oates had been tried for perjury on two indictments, the one for ſwearing that he was preſent at a conſult of Jeſuits in London, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1679, and the other for ſwearing that father Ireland was in London between the eighth and twelfth of Auguſt, and on the beginning of September in the ſame year. To prove the firſt indictment, two and twenty perſons, who had been ſtudents at St. Omers, gave evidence, that Oates had entered into that ſeminary about Chriſtmas in the preceding year, and had never been abſent but one night, till the month of July following; and to prove the other, forty-ſeven witneſſes ſwore, that Ireland on the third of Auguſt had gone to Staffordſhire, where he reſided till the middle of September. Puniſhment of Oates and Dangerfield.

These were times in which ſo formidable a weight of evidence was very little neceſſary to ſatisfy the conſciences of a jury. Oates, notwithſtanding a very ſpirited defence, was brought in guilty without heſitation, and was treated with a ſeverity altogether incompatible to the clemency of the Engliſh laws, or to any common reſpect to the principles of humanity: the ſentence inflicted on Oates was a fine of a thouſand marks on each indictment, to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate

Ann. 1685. to Tyburn, to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. By the extreme severity of the whipping, it was evidently the intention of the court to inflict the most cruel of all deaths on the delinquent, who not being able to stand the second day, through the intolerable anguish which he had endured during the discipline of the first, he was laid on a sledge, his former wounds were crossed with new stripes, and like a corpse all bathed in blood, he was carried back to Newgate, where through the excellency of his constitution, and the care of his friends, he obtained a perfect cure, and lived to enjoy a pension of four hundred pounds a year, which was settled on him in the next reign.

VERY different was the fate which attended the unfortunate Dangerfield. On the accession of James, he had taken sanctuary in Flanders; but coming back before the storm from which he had fled, was blown over, he was seized and carried before the council, where persisting in the presence of the king in his former evidence, he was committed close prisoner to Newgate, and tried at the king's-bench bar, for writing and publishing a villainous and scandalous libel, called his Narrative; wherein, according to the depositions taken before the parliament in 1680, he had testified, &c. This Narrative had been printed by order of the house of commons in the same year, for which, Williams, the speaker, was fined ten thousand pounds, and Dangerfield being now found guilty, was sentenced to be whipt from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn on another, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. Although Dangerfield was struck with such horror at this sentence, as to chuse a text for his funeral sermon; yet he still per-

ſevered in aſſerting, that every tittle of what he had delivered in evidence before the houſe of commons was true. The ſeverity of the whipping was equal to what had been before inflicted on the more robuſt conſtitution of Oates; and when the unfortunate man was receiving his laſt laſh, he was killed by the blow of a cane, given by one Francis, a barriſter of Gray's-Inn, over the head. The body of Dangerfield was ſwelled and inflamed to ſuch a degree with the torments he had undergone, that it is doubtful, whether he would have recovered the execution of his ſentence, if the infernal ſpirit of this zealot of the party had not prompted him to take the odium of his death on himſelf; and it was ſo much reſented by the populace, whoſe indignation had been previouſly raiſed with the ſight of puniſhments more ſevere than the lenity of Engliſh laws allow, that the court did not venture to grant Francis a pardon, who thus incurred the misfortune of dying for a crime at which human nature too ſtrongly revolts to allow of the operation of thoſe principles of charity which teaches men to regard, with an eye of lenity and compaſſion, every individual whom the want of wiſdom and moderation lead into deviations which end in their ruin and deſtruction. Ann. 1685.

At the ſame time that the laws were rendered thus ſubſervient to the vengeance of the papiſts on the perſons of Oates and Dangerfield, the high-church party were indulged in a triumph over Baxter, an eminent preſbyterian divine, who was remarkably obnoxious to the faction, on account of his learning and eminent abilities, and the reputation he had acquired for ſincerity and integrity in the refuſing a biſhopric for conſcience ſake; he was charged with the having been guilty of ſedition in ſome reflections made on the

Ann. 1685. prelates of the Church, in his paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, which was called a ſcandalous piece. After having undergone the ſhock of Jeffries's virulent abuſe, he was brought in guilty, and ſentenced to pay a fine of five hundred marks, to lie in priſon till payment was made, and to give ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years.

Raſh enterprize of Argyle, and Monmouth's invaſion.

The earl of Argyle, who had continued in the Low Countries from the time that the ſentence of attainder was paſſed againſt him, on finding his hopes of a reſtoration fruſtrated by the ill ſucceſs of the late conſpiracy, and the peaceable acceſſion of James, formed the deſperate project of procuring juſtice by the force of arms, and prevailed over the eaſy credulity of Monmouth to engage in the raſh enterprize of ſeconding his attempt on Scotland, by an invaſion of England. The tenderneſs which it was ſuppoſed that the late king retained for his ſon with the view of preſerving the favour of the Whig party, had occaſioned the prince of Orange to treat the unfortunate fugitive with more than common marks of reſpect; but on an intimation from James's miniſters, that the king expected not only the diſmiſſion of Monmouth, but of all thoſe troops in the ſervice of the Dutch who were attached to his intereſt, and who had taken refuge in Holland from the perſecuting ſpirit which prevailed in the government, after the diſcovery of the Rye-houſe plot, the prince of Orange had the complaiſance to acquieſce in both theſe particulars: nor did the ſeverity of James's perſecution ſtop here; for as he had boaſted that he ſhould preſerve a more even balance in his conduct towards the princes of Europe, than had been preſerved by his brother, the Spaniards acquieſced ſo far with his humour as to make a total alteration in their conduct towards Monmouth;

Monmouth; and the marquis de Grana, who had formerly entertained him with high marks of reſpect, received an expreſs direction from the king his maſter, to oblige the duke to retire from Bruſſels. The temper of Monmouth, ſoftened and enervated by an early proſperity, was not compoſed of thoſe inflammable particles which on a ſtrong ſenſe of provocation often exalts the man to the hero; nor yet partook of that invincible fortitude which is totally impenetrable to the adverſe ſtrokes of fortune: he continued for a while deaf to all the importunities of Argyle, and the enthuſiaſts of the party, and giving up all future ſchemes of ambition, determined to ſpend the remainder of his life in the peaceful ſhades of retirement. This prudent inclination in Monmouth was much ſtrengthened by a tender paſſion which he had conceived for lady Harriot Wentworth, who had ſacrificed all which is commonly dear to women for his ſake: but unfortunately this lady, like another Eloiſe, thought proper to give up her own ſatisfaction to what ſhe regarded as the glory of her lover; and her imagination being inflamed by the repreſentations of Argyle, and the arguments of Ferguſon, ſhe united her perſuaſions to the importunities of the party, and found a ready ſubmiſſion to the dictates of her will. The earl of Argyle had prevailed on a widow in Holland to lend him ten thouſand pounds for his expedition: but Monmouth not having the ſame fortune, perhaps on account of his avowed and ſteady attachment to lady Harriot, was obliged to pawn his jewels; and all the force which the two leaders could raiſe for an adventure of equal importance to the conqueſt of two powerful kingdoms was three ſmall veſſels, and a very inconſiderable quantity of arms: however, it muſt be acknowledged, that there were grounds to hope for a very effectual Ann. 1685.

ſupport

Ann. 1685. ſupport from the covenanting party in Scotland, and the excluſioniſts in England; and great promiſes were made from ſome conſiderable perſons of the latter denomination to join the duke the inſtant he ſet foot on ſhore. Argyle ſailed firſt for Scotland, with no more than one hundred companions, of whom the moſt remarkable was Ayloffe the lawyer, and Rumbold the maltſter, men rendered famous by the part it was ſaid they had acted in the Rye-houſe plot. Monmouth, who prepared with all convenient ſpeed to follow Argyle, directed his courſe to the weſt of England with eighty-two officers, and one hundred and fifty other attendants. Lord Grey, Sir Patrick Hume, and Fletcher of Saltoun, were the men of the moſt conſequence who accompanied him: the latter of theſe diſſuaded him much from the enterprize; but when the reſolution was taken, he refuſed not to deſert a noble cauſe on account of the hazards which attended it.

INCONSIDERABLE as were theſe preparations, they made a rumour in Holland, which, magnifying as it ſpread, carried a formidable appearance when it reached the court of England. James immediately applied by Skelton, his ambaſſador, to the magiſtracy of Holland, and afterwards to the ſtates-general, to ſtop the embarkation. The ſtates-general received the application civilly, but evaded the conforming to it under the pretence of the forms of office; and the prince of Orange, by a refinement in policy, did not interfere in forming any obſtructions to that apparent ruin which a formidable rival to the prince's ſucceſſion to the throne was going with ſo much temerity to meet. Skelton then inſiſted, that the Dutch ſhould ſeize all the Britiſh rebels who had at any time taken refuge

refuge in their territories. Fagel in public, and the prince in private, oppoſed the ſucceſs of the application; but Monmouth had no ſooner made good his landing in England, than the ſtadtholder heartily concurred with the Engliſh envoy in obtaining the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh regiments in the ſervice of the Dutch, and offered to go himſelf into England with his own guards. James, whoſe former ſuſpicions had not been eradicated by the ſubmiſſions he had received from the prince, returned for anſwer, that it was more for his intereſt that his ſon-in-law ſhould remain where he was. Ann. 1685.

Argyle invades Scotland.

ARGYLE landed in Scotland in May 1685, and publiſhed two manifeſtos, the intent of the one was to raiſe his vaſſals in the Highlands, and was therefore confined to the perſonal injuries which he had ſuſtained, the other was calculated to bring the covenanters to his ſtandard, and was publiſhed in the name of himſelf and his followers: it imputed the misfortunes of the nation to the breach of the national covenant; maintained, that the king by not complying with it, had forfeited the crown; and declared, that the chief end of the expedition was the ſuppreſſion of prelacy as well as popery.

AN adverſe and perverſe fortune marked every ſtep of this diſaſtrous expedition. The firſt land at which the invaders touched was the Orkneys, where the people put on ſhore for intelligence were ſeized, and gave advice of the arrival of their companions before they could make good their landing; and though the winds and tide were favourable, yet ſo much time was conſumed in the ſailing round the Weſt Highlands, that government had leiſure to make its

Ann. 1685. its preparations before they arrived in Argyleſhire, where they found the whole militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thouſand men, already in arms. All the conſiderable gentry of Argyle's clan were thrown into priſon, and two ſhips of war were on the coaſt to watch his motions; yet ſuch are the rigid principles of vaſſalage, that under all theſe diſcouragements, Argyle was able to collect and arm a body of two thouſand men, and if, ſays Burnet, he had immediately gone over to the weſtern counties of Air and Renfrew, he might have given the government much trouble: but being poſitive in his temper, and haughty in his diſpoſition, he waſted much time in the vain endeavour of getting ſuch a body of men together as ſhould enſure his authority, when his army ſhould be encreaſed by the male-contents in the other parts of the kingdom. By this uſeleſs expence of time, the government had full opportunity to ſeize the ſhips of the invaders, and with them their ammunition, to cut off their proviſions, and to make the proper movements for hemming them in on all ſides. Under theſe accumulated misfortunes, Argyle's followers forſook him daily, till at length reduced to deſpair, he broke with the ſhattered remains of his troops into the diſaffected parts of the low countries; but the power of the government, the terrors they had ſpread around, with the caution they had taken to ſecure the perſons of the ſuſpected, prevented any of the covenanters from joining him, and in one of his marches in Renfrewſhire, his guide miſtaking his way, led his army into a bog, where the horſes and baggage were loſt. This was a criſis which rendered it neceſſary for every man to conſult his ſafety: the army immediately diſperſed, and the earl flying alone to conceal his quality, was met by two peaſants, who called to him to ſurrender. Argyle, defending himſelf, received a wound

Argyle's army reduced to the neceſſity of diſperſing.

Argyle taken, conveyed to Edinburgh, and executed.

wound on his head, and was knocked off his horſe, but re- Ann. 1685.
covering himſelf, he ran to the river Clyde to ſwim through. Here he was attacked by another peaſant, and receiving a ſecond blow on the head, he fell down, and in falling, cried out, oh! unfortunate Argyle: this exclamation touched the heart of one of the peaſants, and inclined him to connive at his eſcape; but the other two terrified by the threats which had been publiſhed againſt thoſe who ſhould give him harbour, refuſed their conſent, and the priſoner was conveyed to Edinburgh; where, according to that baſe ſpirit of inſolence and revenge which accompanied the triumphs of the two brothers, he was made to ſuffer the indignity of walking through the town bareheaded, with the common executioner with his axe marching before him, and was immediately executed, according to the former ſentence which had paſſed againſt him, a circumſtance which manifeſts on what principles the nations were to expect to be governed, ſince their governors choſe to abide by an unjuſt and violent judgment, extorted from venal mouths, rather than avail themſelves of a ſituation in which they were authoriſed by the letter of the law to deprive the priſoner of life.

The greater part of the gentlemen who had embarked in this unhappy buſineſs, had the good fortune to eſcape; but Sir John Cochran, Ayloffe, and Rumbold were taken: the firſt of theſe was enabled to ſoften the ſeverity of the government by a well-timed preſent to the prieſts of five thouſand pounds, advanced by his father the earl of Dundonald. Ayloffe attempted to elude the vengeance of the enemy by an act of ſuicide; but failing in the attempt, he was carried to London, on the notion it was in his power

Ann. 1685. to make great diſcoveries. During the examination, the king ſaid, "Mr. Ayloffe, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore ſay that which may deſerve it." "Though it is in your power, returned Ayloffe, it is not in your nature to pardon:" and his majeſty, not piquing himſelf on the effeminate quality of mercy, did not think proper to confute the repartee in the perſon of the priſoner, who underwent the utmoſt ſeverity of the law; though the nearneſs of his relation to the king's children, he being nephew to the late earl of Clarendon, would have moved a temper ſomewhat leſs inflexible than James's to grant him a pardon. Rumbold, who had received many wounds in the defence of his liberty, maintained a heroiſm in his conduct, which did not give place to what had been exhibited by the braveſt men whoſe lives had been forfeited to the letter of the law for their attachment to its ſpirit and principles. Rumbold was brought to his trial, whilſt his wounds were yet freſh, in an elbow chair on men's ſhoulders: he refuſed to reply to ſome irregular queſtions which were put to him before the charge was read; but in his reply to the indictment, in which the proſecuting a deſign againſt the life of the late king, as had been laid to his charge in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, was not forgot, he owned every circumſtance, except that which related to the aſſaſſination, an intention which he diſavowed with much ſolemnity. On the pronouncing ſentence againſt him, after the verdict Guilty had been brought in by the jury, he was aſked if he was not ſtruck with horror with the dreadful ſounds of hanging, drawing, and quartering; to which he gallantly replied, "I wiſh I had a limb for every town in Chriſtendom." His behaviour at the awful hour of execution was equal to the ſentiment which he advanced on this occaſion: in the ſpeech which

Execution of Ayloffe and Rumbold.

which he made to the people, he obſerved, that no man was marked by God above another, for none came into the world with a ſaddle on his back, nor any booted or ſpurred to ride him: he declared his opinions in favour of a limited monarchy above other governments; and aſſerted, that though God, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, had not thought fit to honour him ſo far as to make him the inſtrument of ſafety to the nation, yet he died in the faith that he would ſpeedily ariſe for the deliverance of his church and people. When Rumbold was brought to the place of execution, he was ſo weak as to be unable to ſtand without the ſupport of two men; yet his mind ſo far triumphed over his body, that he ſaluted the people with great chearfulneſs, nor did his courage one moment fail him through the moſt trying part of his fate. Ann. 1685.

A few days before the diſaſter of Argyle's army, the duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme, in Dorſetſhire. In the manifeſto which he ſet forth, after deſcribing in lively colours the evils under which the nation groaned from the oppreſſive meaſures and corrupt influence of the government, he declared in the name of himſelf and followers, that they would exert their utmoſt power in eſtabliſhing annual parliaments, and without a power of prorogation in the crown till grievances ſhould be redreſſed; that ſheriffs ſhould be choſen annually by the freeholders; that a national militia ſhould be eſtabliſhed, to be commanded by the ſheriffs; that no ſtanding forces ſhould be allowed without the conſent of parliament; and that the charters of corporations ſhould be reſtored. The duke of Monmouth declared for himſelf, that though it had been and ſtill was believed, that he had a legitimate right to the three crowns, of which he made no Monmouth invades England.

Ann. 1685. doubt to give the world ſatisfaction, notwithſtanding the means uſed by the late king his father, upon popiſh motives and at the inſtigation of James, duke of York, to weaken and obſcure it, yet, on motives of public good, he would for the preſent wave all diſputes on that head, and leave his rights and pretenſions, and the ſettlement of the government, to the wiſdom, juſtice, and authority of a parliament duly choſen and acting with freedom.

ADVANTAGEOUS as were theſe propoſals, the duke was not joined by any of the nobility or gentry of condition: the perſons of ſeveral of his friends marked by the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, had been ſeized, the reſt fled to London, and even Trenchard, who was more famous for wiſdom and integrity than for courage and reſolution, failed in the promiſe he had made to join the invaders on their firſt landing, and had retired to France: the common people, however, to whom Monmouth was perſonally dear, with a generous contempt for all thoſe prudential motives which weigh with men in more elevated ſtations, flocked to his ſtandard in ſuch multitudes, that he was obliged to diſmiſs them for want of arms and proviſions. Even the third day after his arrival, Monmouth was enabled to detach lord Grey, with three hundred men, to ſtorm Brideport, which was poſſeſſed by a detachment of the militia, under the duke of Albemarle, and alſo to ſend out another party, with Fletcher of Saltoun, on another expedition. Such was the ſpirit and ardour with which theſe raw troops were inſpired, that though they were baſely deſerted by their commander, who fled back to the duke, and reported the news of a defeat, they ſtormed the town, and retired in good order. Monmouth, whoſe gentleneſs of diſpoſition rendered him very unfit to act

Monmouth's progreſs in the Weſt.

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in ſuch a contingency, retained the lord Grey in the command, notwithſtanding this notorious inſtance of cowardice; and what equally contributed to his ill ſucceſs and ruin, was an accident which befell the gallant Fletcher, the only man of parts by whom he was attended. Fletcher, who rationally thought that points of ceremony ought to give way to times of danger, had in his expedition ſeized for his own riding the horſe of a country gentleman, which ſtood ready equipt for its maſter; the gentleman, though well affected to the cauſe, had the brutality to give Fletcher opprobrious language, and even to ſhake his cane over his head; enraged with this affront, Fletcher pulled out a piſtol, and ſhot him dead on the ſpot. This ſally of paſſion, it muſt be acknowledged, was very natural and excuſable in a man, who, in the courſe of military foreign ſervices, had acquired high ideas of the honour of a ſoldier and a gentleman; yet it raiſed ſuch a clamour among the country gentry, who had no notions ſimilar to ſuch refinements, that they waited on the duke in a body with their complaints: he was obliged to make it his requeſt to Fletcher to abandon him, and in the perſon of this gallant ſoldier departed every chance of ſucceſs which might have attended the hazardous adventure. Ann. 1685.

Every ſtep taken by the duke of Monmouth, after the departure of Fletcher, ſhewed the inferiority of his abilities to the importance of the enterprize in which he had ſo raſhly engaged. Inſtead of taking advantage of the ſuperiority of numbers, and the zeal of his troops to fight the body of militia, which had been collected together by the duke of Albemarle, and who were very averſe to the cauſe they were called to defend, and thus, by an eaſy victory, have ſupplied

Ann, 1685. plied arms for his numerous followers, and, by that confidence which ſucceſs inſpires, have put himſelf in a ſituation to make his way to the capital, and to have given his party an opportunity to make an inſurrection in his favour, Monmouth waſted thoſe important moments which were never to be retrieved in inſtructing his troops in all the refinements of modern diſcipline: his marches were ſlow, his reſts many; yet ſtill as he advanced, he was joined by numbers of the commonalty, with ſome of the inferior gentry; and at Taunton, the people, who were unanimous in his favour, ſtrewed his way with flowers and herbs, followed him with acclamations and prayers, adorned their walls with green boughs, and opened their houſes to his army. Twenty-ſix young maidens, in the name of the town, preſented him on their knees with a Bible and a banner, and in the elevation of ſpirits which theſe tokens of affection raiſed, Monmouth was guilty of the abſurdity of departing from the promiſes made in his manifeſto, and of ſuffering himſelf to be crowned: a ceremony which was no ſooner over than one proclamation was iſſued, ſetting a price on the king's head, as his majeſty had done before on Monmouth's; a ſecond, declaring the parliament a ſeditious aſſembly, and threatening, if they did not ſeparate themſelves before the end of June, to authoriſe his ſubjects to proceed againſt them as rebels and traitors; and a third, requiring the duke of Albemarle, who lay with his militia within ſix miles of Taunton, to lay down his arms, and in caſe of refuſal denouncing him a traitor. To give the more weight to this edict, a letter was ſent to the duke of Albemarle, and another to lord Churchill, inviting them to join the inſurgents: theſe invitations were treated with the contempt they deſerved; and Monmouth, forgetting that ſuch high and dangerous pretenſions can only be ren-

Monmouth crowned at Taunton.

dered effectual by an adventurous courage, continued to diſappoint the warm expectations of the people by a ſtate of military inaction; and without giving any moleſtation to the duke of Albemarle, he marched from Taunton to Bridgewater, from thence to Wells and Frome, and with the uſual formality was proclaimed king in every one of theſe towns. Ann. 1685.

During theſe unneceſſary delays James gained ſufficient time to procure the Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice, to reinforce his army to fifteen thouſand men, and to obtain a grant from the parliament of four hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervices of the war. His unhappy rival lay waiting with vain expectation for a ſupply of men and money, from thoſe friends whoſe encouragements had carried him to ſuch dangerous lengths; but on the diſappointment of theſe important particulars, he took the reſolution to march over Mendip Hills to Briſtol, a city abounding in money, arms, and ſtores, and the majority of whoſe inhabitants he had been aſſured were in his intereſt, and that the militia under the duke of Beaufort would make no reſiſtance. At Cainſham, a ſmall village within three or four miles of Briſtol, Monmouth fell in with a body of horſe, commanded by colonel Oglethorp: a ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the inſurgents were victorious; yet ſuch was the infatuation of Monmouth, that hearing that a body of the regular infantry were near, he abandoned the enterprize, although he was aſſured that a conſpiracy was actually formed in the city to receive him. Infatuated conduct of Monmouth.

To account for this ſtrange conduct, calculated to deſtroy in his followers every hope of ſucceſs, it is aſſerted by ſome writers,

Ann. 1685. writers, that the duke of Beaufort had declared, that if the citizens made any attempt in favour of the inſurgents, he would ſet fire to the town; and that when this menace was reported to Monmouth, he ſaid, God forbid that I ſhould bring the two calamities of fire and ſword on ſo noble a city, and immediately directing his march towards Bath, he ſummoned it to ſurrender; but the citizens deſpiſing a general who had either too little courage, or too much ſimpathy to act agreeably to the neceſſities of war, ſhut their gates againſt him, and killed the herald by whom the ſummons of ſurrender had been ſent.

On this repulſe, Monmouth retired to Frome, where he received the mortifying intelligence of Argyle's defeat, of the arrival of the Dutch regiments at Graveſend, and that lord Feverſham, with three thouſand regular forces and thirty pieces of cannon, was in full march to give him battle.

In this extremity of his affairs, Monmouth perceived the errors of his former delays with their fatal conſequences; the deluſions of his viſionary monarchy gave place to all the horrors of deſpondency; in ſome moments he reſolved to fly the kingdom, but the generous ſentiments which prevailed among the majority of his followers at length inſpired a more noble reſolution. It was now determined to retire to Bridgewater, and to endeavour to defend that town, till an inſurrection ſhould take place in the capital; but Danvers, who had undertaken this deſperate ſervice, excuſed the performance of his promiſe, by pretending to take offence at the duke's aſſuming the crown. Deſperate as was this ſituation of affairs, fortune had one game yet in her power to play, to deliver the duke and his gallant followers from the toil in

which they had ſuffered themſelves to be caught; for the duke and his chief officers having taken a view of the king's troops, who had lined all the paſſes from the town with their artillery, perceived by the aſſiſtance of glaſſes that the horſe and foot lay at ſome diſtance from each other; and with a careleſs ſecurity, which in a manner inſured an eaſy victory. Monmouth, who was never over ſanguine in his expectations, cried out, "We ſhall have no more to do than to lock up the ſtable doors, and ſeize the troopers in their beds." The plan laid down for the attack was formed with promptneſs and wiſdom: the duke reſerved to himſelf the attack of the foot, who lay neareſt the town, and he ordered lord Grey with part of the horſe, to make a circuit to a village in which Feverſham's cavalry lay, to ſet fire to the village, in order to diſtract the attention of the cavalry, and with the reſt to fall on the back of the infantry, whilſt Monmouth attacked them in front. Captain Mathewes very warmly remonſtrated again the placing ſuch confidence in lord Grey, who had ſhewn very evident marks of cowardice; but he remonſtrated in vain, the infatuated Monmouth even in this laſt ſtake for a crown or death, giving way to the over delicacy of his nature, kept firm to his reſolution; and returned anſwer, "I will not affront my lord; what I have given him in charge is eaſy to be executed." Ann. 1685.

Monmouth attacks the king's troops, and is defeated.

At eleven o'clock at night, the troops were all formed, and began to march: but meeting with a deep ditch between the moor and the enemy's camp, Monmouth halted in expectation of the ſignal of lord Grey's ſucceſs, by firing the village, but the long expected ſignal never came, and though this delay had given the enemy time to receive the alarm; yet ſuch was the intrepid bravery with which theſe irregu-

Ann. 1685. lars were inſpired, that the moment they had leave to charge, they drove the veteran forces from their ground, and, even without the aſſiſtance of the cavalry, would in all probability have gained the victory, if the over-caution of Monmouth had not kept them to their ranks, and given the enemy time to rally, to return to the field, and to flank the inſurgents with their artillery. During the heat of this conteſt, the horſe under lord Grey never made one attempt, either to cover the foot, or to make any ſtand in their own defence, and the enemy's cavalry, after driving them forward like a flock of ſheep, fell on the rear of the duke's foot, who, notwithſtanding their being thus ſurrounded, continued to fight till all their ſtock of ammunition was waſted; for the flying horſe communicated their panic to thoſe who had the care of the ammunition waggons, who driving off with all the ſpeed they could make, never ſtopt till they had got twelve miles from the place of battle. Lord Grey, as if fated to deſtroy the hopes, the life, and even the reputation of his unfortunate friend, rode up to Monmouth, and telling him all was loſt, adviſed him to ſhift for himſelf, an advice which the duke too readily attending to, incurred the diſgrace of flying firſt from the field of battle: fifty of thoſe cowardly wretches who had ſo ſignally contributed to his overthrow, accompanied him in his flight, whilſt his faithful and gallant infantry contributed to render his eſcape eaſy, by continuing to fight and die in their ranks; at length, from the neceſſity above mentioned, they were obliged to give way, fifteen hundred were ſlain in the field of battle, the greater part of the remainder were taken priſoners, and thus was concluded, in a few weeks time, an enterprize which, though raſhly undertaken, appears to have miſcarried more from

the feeble manner in which it was conducted, than from any other circumſtance. Ann. 1685.

Monmouth continued flying from the field of battle till his horſe, exhauſted with fatigue, ſunk under him; and ſo hot was the purſuit, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſeparating from his followers, and ſeeking on foot a place of refuge and concealment. Lord Grey was taken in the diſguiſe of a ſhepherd, by a party of the royaliſts, near Holt-Lodge in Dorſetſhire, in the neighbourhood of Ringwood; and the next day, another of the party falling into the ſame hands, he confeſſed that he had left the duke about midnight: the vigilance of the ſearch was now redoubled, and a few hours after, the unhappy Monmouth was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, covered over with fern; and ſuch was the feeble ſtate of his mind and body, oppreſſed with hunger and fatigue, with the memory of paſt ſuffering, and the ſenſe of future evils, that nature ſunk under too ſevere a trial; he trembled, fainted, and burſt into tears; circumſtances calculated to extort ſimpathy from beings liable to ſimilar imperfections, and ſimilar misfortunes, but which ſerved as matters of inſolent triumph to the bitterneſs of faction, who had the meanneſs to inſult over the tranſient weakneſs of a man harraſſed with terror and vexation, and who had not ſlept for three nights, nor taſted food for three days. Monmouth taken, conveyed to London, and executed.

Notwithstanding the greatneſs of the offence committed, and the known inflexibility and ſeverity of James's temper, Monmouth was prevailed on, either by a fond deſire of life, or by the inſinuations of treacherous adviſers, to write a ſubmiſſive letter to James, in which he gave him ſome Dalrymple's Memoires. Appendix.

Ann. 1685. hopes, that he had matters of conſequence to diſcover; and James, finding ſuch ſymptoms of deſpondency in a man who had ſoared high enough to become his competitor for the crown, admitted him to his preſence, with the double view of gratifying the mean inclination of inſulting over a fallen enemy, and in the hopes of extorting a diſcovery of his accomplices. To this mortifying interview, Monmouth was conducted like a common malefactor, with his hands tied behind him; he at firſt attempted to ſooth James by his ſubmiſſions, and he conjured him to ſpare the blood of a brother, who had ever been ſtrongly attached to his intereſts: he was alſo prevailed on to ſign an acknowledgement, that the late king had aſſured him, that he was never married to his mother: but Monmouth finding himſelf incapable of acting with ſo much infamy as to purchaſe his life by betraying even thoſe who had deſerted him, James continued inexorable, and the priſoner provoked with the ſtern arrogance of his behaviour, and with ſome inſulting language he received from the queen, roſe from the king's feet, and returned to priſon with the air of a man determined to ſuffer the worſt treatment that power could inflict: however, his anxiety to continue the enjoyment of that tender connection which ſubſiſted between him and the lady Harriot Wentworth, occaſioned him to make another vain attempt to move the inexorable temper of James; even the favour of a ſhort reprieve was denied, and he was ordered to execution the next day. In this melancholy ſituation Monmouth deſired to have an interview with his wife the ducheſs, whoſe natural prudence was ſtrengthened by the reſentment of ill-requited love, and ſhe inſiſted on having one of the king's friends witneſs to the converſation, which had ſo much bitterneſs and altercation in it, that James, who always profeſſed

feſſed a high eſteem for the lady, granted to her and her children the forfeiture of a large eſtate which ſhe had made over to the duke in marriage. Ann. 1685.

NOTWITHSTANDING the mean endeavours which had been uſed by the court, to blacken and degrade the character of Monmouth by an exaggerated relation of his faults, his foibles, and his imperfections, that exceſſive and fatal popularity which had attended him through life, did not leave him at the hour of his death; his appearance at the place of execution excited the univerſal lamentation of the multitude. This circumſtance undoubtedly contributed to ſupport the ſpirits of the priſoner, who acquitted himſelf with much fortitude and temper, through a ſtring of impertinent interrogatories which were put to him by the divines appointed to attend him, and which under the ſpecious pretence of exhorting to a particular repentance, all tended to make him inſtrumental to the diſgrace of his own perſon, and the cauſe in which he had engaged. He expreſſed ſome anxiety, leſt the executioner ſhould fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Ruſſel, and render it neceſſary to redouble the blow; the anxiety of the priſoner united to the contagion of a general ſympathy, highly affected the executioner. His firſt ſtroke was ſo feeble that Monmouth lifted up his head from the block, as if to reproach him for his failure; and when he had laid it down a ſecond time, after ſeveral ineffectual ſtrokes, the executioner flung down his axe, and declared he was incapable of finiſhing the bloody office; however, the ſheriff obliged him to renew the attempt, and with two blows more the head was ſevered from the body. The people in their tears and prayers, and the contortions of their bodies, ſeemed to feel

Ann. 1685. feel thoſe ſtrokes which the individual they commiſerated no longer felt, and thus with theſe peculiar circumſtances of ſeverity, periſhed in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, a nobleman who had been once regarded as the minion of fortune, but who had been inſenſibly led by her treacherous favours into miſery and ruin. The gracefulneſs of his perſon, and his attractive manners, qualified him to be an ornament to the court; whilſt his mild and tractable diſpoſition, had it been attended with certain lucky incidents, bid fair to render him a bleſſing to his country. The allurements of popularity, and the ill ſupported indulgencies of an unprincipled father, ſeduced him into the dangerous paths of ambition; and the impatience of faction, rather than the vivacity of his temper, led him into the laſt ill-timed enterprize, which, though it exceeded his capacity, might have met with a fortunate iſſue, had it been longer delayed; and in this caſe, as Monmouth was more open and liberal in his temper than the prince of Orange, and much leſs of a politician, the party who favoured his cauſe would in all probability have taken care to have laid thoſe foundations of liberty, which ſupported the greatneſs of their leader, on a baſis ſufficiently broad and permanent to have withſtood for many ages the devaſtations of time, and the encroachments of power.

It is remarkable, that when lord Dartmouth, who attended the execution by James's order, gave his maſter the hiſtory of the ceremony, he ſaid, you have got rid of one enemy, but you have a more dangerous one remains behind: theſe words made ſome impreſſion on the king's mind, yet not ſufficient to divert him from a malevolent perſecution of the memory of his unfortunate nephew; two

Narratives

Narratives were printed by the king's authority, one relating to the manner of Monmouth's falling into the hands of his enemies, and the other described what had passed between him and the bishops, during the painful moments previous to his execution: the first insinuated that Monmouth was a coward, and the other, that he died impenitent; that he treated the criminal passion he had entertained for lady Harriot Wentworth as a matter of respect, and that the last act of his life was to send her a love-token. Insinuations like these were properly calculated to act with force on the minds of the vulgar; yet such was the fondness they still retained for their favourite, that they believed that one of his friends who resembled him, had consented to be executed in his stead; they started at every rumour of his name, and long expected when he should return to put himself at their head. Ann. 1685.

Fortunately for the pusillanimous lord Grey, his estate was entailed in a manner as to deprive the crown of all pecuniary advantages from his death, his life therefore was preserved, that the courtiers might have the benefit of his annual income. The earl of Rochester had sixteen thousand pounds of him, others had smaller shares, and besides these grants, he was obliged to write such a history of the Rye-house plot, as should support all those false accounts, which by royal authority had been detailed to the people, and also to incur the disgrace of appearing as a witness against his associates. It was on the circumstance of this evidence, that Mr. Hampden, contrary to all the usage of law, was again brought to trial, and being told that he must expect no favour unless he would plead guilty, he condescended

Ann. 1685. ſcended to beg his life, in a manner ſo repugnant to his noble ſpirit, that it fixed a depreſſion on his mind which he could never ſubdue, and which ten years after concluded in an act of ſuicide.

FLATTERING circumſtances of fortune, when they are not ſupported with the addreſs of the artful knave, or the ſound policy of the truly wiſe man, are often attended with conſequences directly oppoſite to the appearance which they preſent to the dazzled eyes of deluded man. The eaſy victory obtained by James in the very commencement of his reign, the independence he had gained from the compliance of a baſe parliament, with the ſervile prejudices of the high church and Tory factions, muſt have co-operated to the fixing the deſpotiſm of the throne on a permanent baſis, had there been any degree of common prudence in the king's councils, or temper in the conduct of his ſervants and miniſters: but, on the contrary, ſuch arbitrary and ferocious principles had James inſtilled into all his minions, that Feverſham immediately after the victory hanged up above twenty priſoners by the authority of martial law; and this example was followed by Kirke, a ſoldier of fortune, who had long ſerved in Tangier, and whoſe ſavage nature had been rendered yet more brutal by the habits he had contracted with the Moors.

Cruelties exerciſed on the inſurgents and others.

ON Kirke's firſt entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen, without making any enquiry into the merits of their cauſe. With a ſportive cruelty unexampled in European manners, he ordered a certain number to be executed, whilſt he and his company were regaling themſelves with drink, and having a gallows erected at his door, the execution of the priſoners

priſoners accompanied the glaſs which was drank to the health of the king, the queen, or to judge Jeffries. On obſerving the firſt of theſe unhappy victims to ſhake in the agonies of departing life, he ſaid they ſhould have muſic to their dancing, and immediately directed the drums to beat, and the trumpets to ſound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hanged up three ſeveral times, queſtioning him in the intervals, whether he repented of his crime: to theſe queſtions, the man had the fortitude to anſwer in the negative, and he was hung up a fourth time in chains. Among the many ſtories told of Kirke, the following is memorable for the treachery as well as barbarity which attended it: he promiſed to grant the requeſt of a young woman, who pleaded for the life of her brother, provided ſhe would comply with the amorous inclination he had conceived towards her. The ſtrong impulſe of natural affection prevailed over female delicacy, and the young woman yielded to the conditions preſcribed, which when performed on her part, the wanton ſavage ſhewed her from his window her brother, the beloved object for whom ſhe had made ſo important a ſacrifice, hanging on a gibbet, which he had ſecretly ordered to be erected there for his execution. A ſight ſo horrible and unexpected, and exhibited at ſo critical a period, was too powerful for nature to ſupport: rage, deſpair, and indignation, took poſſeſſion of the young woman's mind, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes. All the inhabitants of the Weſtern counties, the innocent as well as the guilty, were expoſed to the ravages of this barbarian: the ſoldiery were let looſe to live on free quarter, and one regiment, who following the example and the precepts of their commander, diſtinguiſhed themſelves Ann. 1685.

Ann. 1685. ſelves in a more particular manner by their outrages, he uſed to call in deriſion his Lambs.

However oppoſite to the principles of humanity was the conduct of this ferocious barbarian, the inhabitants of the Weſt ſoon experienced, that the extreme rigour of the laws, and the abuſe of a conſtitutional authority, can equal in all points, if not exceed, the depredations of military tyranny; commitments and proſecutions were extended to all thoſe who were held favourers of the cauſe of rebellion. The crowd of theſe ſufferers penned up, in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year, in cloſe and incommodious priſons, was ſo numerous, that they ſoon infected the air they breathed, life became a heavy burthen, and the fate of thoſe who had fallen victims to the inhumanity of the ſoldiers, was regarded rather as an object of envy than regret.

For the ſake perhaps of adding to the meaſure of puniſhment, and alſo to give time to informers to extend the circle of delinquency, the priſoners were not brought to trial till the end of Auguſt. The cruel Jeffries, who alone could vie with a Kirke in deeds of blood, was the man appointed to this important charge; and that his ferocity might not receive any check from the cowardice of his diſpoſition, he was empowered, contrary to every former rule or precedent, to command the forces in chief, and, as general of the Weſt, was guarded from place to place by troops of ſoldiers, who took the word of command from him. At Wincheſter, Jeffries opened his commiſſion, and his firſt attack was on the lady Liſle, the widow of the regicide Liſle, who had been aſſaſſinated in Switzerland. Lady Liſle was indicted for harbouring one Hicks, a diſſenting clergyman, knowing him

to

to be a traitor, &c. Even according to the ſevere rule by which delinquency was to be judged, it was neceſſary to prove that the priſoner knew Hicks to have been in the rebellion: but, in the whole courſe of the evidence, no ſuch proof appears; a circumſtance ſtrongly inſiſted on by the priſoner, who pleaded that theſe criminals had been put into no proclamation, had been convicted by no verdict, nor could any perſon be denominated a traitor, till the ſentence of ſome legal court was paſſed upon him; that it appeared not by any proof that ſhe was acquainted with the guilt of the perſons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth; that though ſhe might be obnoxious on account of her family, it was well known that her heart was ever loyal; that no perſon in England had ſhed more tears for that fatal event, in which her huſband had unfortunately bore too great a ſhare; and that the ſame principles which ſhe had ever embraced, ſhe had been careful to inſtill into her ſon, and had ſent him to fight againſt thoſe rebels whom ſhe was now accuſed of harbouring. Ann. 1685.

These arguments, united to the great age and well known loyalty of the priſoner, had a powerful influence over the jury; they twice inclined to give a favourable verdict, but the unrelenting Jeffries, who admired the wiſdom of God in making colonel Penruddock, whoſe father had ſuffered martyrdom in the royal cauſe, an inſtrument in ſeizing the priſoner, and who had acted the part of an evidence, by aſſerting that Hicks had confeſſed he had been in the rebellion, continued obſtinately to oppoſe the doubts of the jury, and at length forced them by menaces to violate their oaths, and ſacrifice a ſubject whom they regarded as innocent and meritorious, to the cruelty and avarice of the judge.

Ann. 1685. Beſides lord Feverſham, who, on pecuniary conſiderations, had applied for a pardon, two Tory peereſſes pleaded in behalf of lady Liſle, and declared ſhe had conferred obligations on their party in the greateſt extremity; but all interceſſion was in vain: James refuſed to grant any other favour, but the changing the ſentence of burning to beheading, which was accordingly executed. Lady Liſle, notwithſtanding the feebleneſs which commonly attends the age of ſeventy years and upwards, ſupported her hard fate with compoſure and fortitude.

The terror which this example of unrelenting cruelty muſt naturally excite in the minds of all thoſe who were in any degree noxious to government, was greatly heightened by the charge delivered by Jeffries to the grand jury at Dorcheſter, in which he directed them to enquire after and make diſcoveries of all who had been aiders and abettors as well as principals in the rebellion. As there were few of the jurymen who had not given refuge to their friends and relations in diſtreſs, they were induced on the powerful motives of perſonal ſafety to go all lengths with the judge; bills were found againſt thirty wretches before the next morning; and Jeffries, who had indecently laughed out at the folly of a divine, for recommending mercy from the pulpit, took occaſion to declare, that if any of the delinquents gave him the trouble to try them, and they were found guilty, their executions ſhould be immediate. As none of the thirty thought proper to truſt the mercy of Jeffries, they found him as good as his word; ſentence was pronounced againſt them on the ſpot, and the ſame evening a warrant was ſigned for execution. To render the effect of this intimidating example more powerful, Jeffries's officers had

had orders to prevail on the priſoners to confeſs by the pro- Ann, 1685.
miſes of pardon; but when theſe unfortunate men adhered in court to their confeſſion, their condemnation and execution followed, and when any retracted the confeſſion they had made in private, the officers were produced as witneſſes againſt them. One Brag, an attorney, was condemned on the circumſtance of having his horſe taken from him by the inſurgents, on which Jeffries declared with a jeſt, that if any lawyer or parſon ſhould come under his inſpection, they ſhould not eſcape. The conſtable of Chardſtock having been forced to deliver a ſum of money, which he had in his hands for the uſe of the militia, to ſome of Monmouth's party, was brought to trial, and objecting to one of the witneſſes, who was a woman of ill fame, Jeffries ſilenced him with the following abuſe: "Villain, rebel, methinks I ſee thee already with a halter round thy neck." At Taunton, one Simon Hamling undertook to prove, by the concurring teſtimony of ſeveral credible perſons, that he had no concern in the rebellion; that while it continued he had never been but twice at Taunton, once to charge his ſon not to become a party in it, and the ſecond to buy proviſion for the ſubſiſtence of his family: and when the juſtice of peace who had forwarded the proſecution, applied to Jeffries in favour of the accuſed, urging, that there was ſome miſtake in the allegations which had been produced againſt him, Jeffries refuſed to relinquiſh the prey, and anſwered, "You have brought him on; if he is innocent, his blood be upon you." It were endleſs to relate every particular inſtance, where the laws of juſtice and humanity were violated to ſatisfy the avarice and cruelty of Jeffries, who was partly influenced by policy in the havock he made of the human ſpecies, for the general terror which he excited enabled him

to

Ann. 1685. to exact conſiderable ſums from the opulent to ſave them from trials, from which it was apparent no man, however innocent, could come off with ſafety. Dorcheſter, Taunton, Exeter, Briſtol, groaned under the violation of juſtice, the whole country was ſtrewed with the heads and limbs of the inhabitants, great numbers were ſent to the plantations, and ſuch a harveſt did the courtiers make of the calamities of the Weſt, that even the young women who had preſented the duke of Monmouth with a Bible, were given as it was termed to ſome of the maids of honour; that is, from all thoſe who eſcaped death, were exacted ſuch enormous ſums, as rendered the puniſhment in ſome caſes ſuperior even to the loſs of life.

Of all thoſe who were brought to trial for Monmouth's rebellion, the lord de la Mere was almoſt the only man who eſcaped, and this eſcape he owed to the privilege of being tried by a jury of peers, who, from motives of perſonal ſafety, refuſed to take their directions from Jeffries.

Burnet aſſures us, that the king had a particular account of all the cruel proceedings in the Weſt written to him every day; and that the pleaſure he took in relating the circumſtances of Jeffries's campaign, as he called it, in the drawing-room to foreign miniſters, and in the hours of convivial pleaſure at the table, was remarked on by Dykevelt, as an indecency quite unbecoming the character of a man, much leſs a prince; and though ſome of the friends of the Stuart family have pretended that this is one of Burnet's calumnies, and that the king was no ſooner informed of Jeffries's proceedings, than he ſent to put a ſtop to them; yet, for the honour of the hiſtorian, whoſe vera-

city has been highly queſtioned by party, it muſt be obſerved, that in all points where he differs from other writers, the truth of his Narrative has been aſcertained by the publication of the letters found at Verſailles, and in king William's box; and beſides, the circumſtance of Jeffries being created a peer, and entruſted with the great ſeal, after the infamous completion of his commiſſion, we find in the forementioned publication a letter of king James to the prince of Orange, in which he terms the Weſtern circuit, "Jeffries's campaign," and enumerates the detail of ſeverities practiſed on his unfortunate ſubjects in the Weſt, who were not the only ſufferers from that implacable ſpirit of revenge which corrupted the hearts of the two brothers, and renders their government peculiarly odious to the benevolent and humane. Ann. 1685.

Mrs. Gaunt, a houſe-keeper in Wapping, who ſpent the greater part of her time and fortune in acts of ſingular charity, ſuch as viſiting the jails, and comforting the poor and the needy, was ſolicited by one Burton, who had been engaged in the Rye-houſe plot, to grant him protection until he could procure a veſſel to go beyond ſea. This wretch, by a baſeneſs as ſingular as was the goodneſs of his benefactreſs, in order to atone for recent tranſgreſſions, turned accuſer. Mrs. Gaunt was capitally indicted, brought in guilty, and received ſentence to be burnt alive, notwithſtanding a very material deficiency in point of evidence. Mrs. Gaunt, who was an anabaptiſt, bore the execution of this horrid ſentence with a magnanimity equal to what hiſtory relates of the victims which fell under the bloody tyranny of Mary's popiſh miniſtry: ſhe rejoiced that God had honoured her to be the firſt who ſuffered by fire in this reign,

Ann. 1685. reign, and that her ſuffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love; and with a calmneſs of mind which melted all the ſpectators into tears, ſhe aſſiſted the executioner in adjuſting the combuſtibles in a manner as to procure her a ſpeedy deliverance.

It was undoubtedly very impolitic of the king to awaken in the minds of the people the idea of thoſe ſufferings, to which their anceſtors had been ſubjected under the papal tyranny; and the candid of all parties were obliged to confeſs that manners and morals were corrupted by the laws, ſince it was by their authority that perfidy was protected, and charity and generoſity puniſhed: but the government, lulled into a ſecurity which ſet at defiance popular opinion, continued to wreak its vengeance on old as well as new offenders. Goodenough, the under ſheriff of London, was taken priſoner after the battle of Sedgemoor, and was reſolved to ſave his life by an accuſation of Corniſh, whom he knew to be peculiarly obnoxious to the court. Corniſh was immediately arreſted, denied the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, or any conference with his friends; his trial was hurried on three days after his commitment, though his wife and children, and himſelf, when produced in court, earneſtly petitioned for a delay, in order to give time for the coming in of a material witneſs. Rumſey and Goodenough were the two witneſſes produced in favour of the court: to the firſt the priſoner objected, that in lord Ruſſel's caſe, he had ſworn that he had no more to ſwear againſt any man; and to Goodenough, that he had not yet received a pardon for his laſt treaſon: he enlarged on the improbability of the teſtimony, aſſerted his innocence with vehement proteſtations,

teſtations, argued that none but a man who had nothing to fear, would have expoſed himſelf to the danger of an accuſation, after having been four times impriſoned, and always without cauſe: he called ſeveral witneſſes to his general character, and ſome, in particular, to ſhew that he held Goodenough to be ſo bad a man, that he would not truſt him in any point, and that he was over-ruled by Bethel's obſtinacy, and the interpoſition of friends, to admit him as under-ſheriff. Shepherd, who had been ſo important a witneſs againſt the unfortunate lord Ruſſel, appeared in favour of Corniſh, and contradicted the evidence delivered by Rumſey and Goodenough: even the jury were ſtartled with this circumſtance, and with the obſervation that there was no agreement in the matters depoſed by the two witneſſes; that one of them was plainly perjured by his own evidence, as well as by the evidence delivered by Shepherd; and that an overt-act of any kind was not ſo much as hinted at by either. Weighty as were theſe objections, the bench concluded againſt the priſoner, the jury implicitly followed the opinion of the bench, and when the priſoner threw himſelf on the king's mercy, and promiſed to deſerve it by his dutiful behaviour, the recorder brutally aſked the ſheriff, why he did not do his duty? So anxious was the government, leſt this unhappy man ſhould eſcape their vengeance, that he was allowed but one day's preparation for death, and, in order to add to his mortification, the appointed place of execution was in the middle of the city, almoſt before his own door. He died with great reſolution and reſignation, and continued to the laſt to aſſert his innocence with ſolemn aſſeverations. His quarters were ſet up on Guild- Ann. 1685.

Ann. 1685. hall as a warning to the citizens; and that examples might not be wanted at any end of the town, to teach the diſaffected the neceſſity of obedience and ſubmiſſion, on the very ſame day Mrs. Gaunt was burnt at Tyburn, and one Lindſey was hanged at Tower-hill, for running away from his colours, though martial law at this time made no part of the conſtitution.

THE perjury of the witneſſes appeared immediately after Corniſh's execution: they were condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and the eſtate of the innocent ſufferer was by this means preſerved to his family.

Affairs of Scotland. IMMEDIATELY after the king's acceſſion to the throne, a parliament had been ſummoned at Edinburgh, and all affairs were conducted in this kingdom by the duke of Queenſberry, the commiſſioner, and the earl of Perth, the chancellor. James, in his letter to the parliament, ſaid he had called them together at this early ſeaſon, to give them an opportunity not only of ſhewing their duty to the crown as formerly, but of being exemplary to others in compliance with his deſires; and he aſſured them that he was reſolved to maintain his power and prerogative in its higheſt luſtre, to the end that he might be the better enabled to defend and protect the religion and government of the church, as it was then eſtabliſhed, as alſo its rights and properties againſt fanatical contrivances, murderers, and aſſaſſins. The commiſſioner, whoſe whimſical conſcience dictated an adherence to the religion of his country, at the ſame time that he was determined to put this as well as every other important point in the king's power,

power, by a total ſurrender of its liberties, enlarged on his majeſty's gracious reſolutions, to govern with temperateneſs, and to protect the religion and government of the church as they were then eſtabliſhed: he aſſured the aſſembly, that he was authoriſed to conſent to ſuch laws as could be reaſonably propoſed for the recovery and improvement of trade; and that in return for this grace and favour on the part of the crown, all that was required of them was, that they would aſſert its rights and prerogatives, eſtabliſh as ample a revenue on his majeſty and his ſucceſſors as was enjoyed by the late king; and that they would fall on effectual means to deſtroy that deſperate fanatical and irreclaimable party, who had brought them to the brink of ruin and diſgrace. The lord chancellor Perth, a more conſiſtent character than that of the commiſſioner, entertained no ſcruples which might tend to deprive him of the reward of his political turpitude, and from the beginning had determined to ſacrifice the principles of his faith to the prejudices of his ſovereign: he reminded the parliament of the many obligations the Scotch nation lay under to their great monarch; and in particular of the peculiar favour ſhewn in giving them the opportunity of preſenting him with the firſt fruits of the ſervice of his parliaments, and of becoming examples to his other dominions, by improving it as far as it would go; by calling upon them to unite like honeſt Scotchmen in the exaltation of the crown, and in diſcountenancing a daſtardly brood of villainous men, who had lately maintained principles, and ventured upon practices, not to be named among any who had heard of a government or a religion: "Who but incarnate devils, pro- Ann. 1685.

Ann. 1685. ceeded this eloquent ſpeaker, could think of attempting ſuch precious lives; what prince in Europe was ever like the late king, except his preſent majeſty; and to encourage us to do all we can for the ſervice and honour of our glorious monarch, let us conſider him in all his perſonal advantages, whether in what relates to war or peace? Where has the world afforded ſuch another; one whoſe natural endowments have been improved by ſuch great experience at home and abroad, in armies and in courts, by the trials of proſperity and ſucceſs, of adverſity and oppoſition, of hazards and toil, of authority and command; did ever man ſhew ſo exact an honeſty in the ſtricteſt adhering to his word; ſuch temperance and ſobriety, ſo indefatigable a diligence in affairs, ſo undaunted a courage upon all occaſions, and ſo unwearied a clemency againſt the moſt obſtinate and malicious offenders; did ever hero complete the character ſo fully, in overcoming bravely, and in ſhewing gentleneſs to the vanquiſhed? And I muſt ſay the triumphs of his patience are not his obſcureſt glories, nor is the forgiving of thoſe whoſe virulent tongues would have tainted his fame, if their malice could have reached him, what is moſt to be admired in him, and ſeeing he takes pleaſure in nothing ſo much as our felicity and proſperity, let it be an additional tye upon us to advance his honour and glory, by all the endeavours of our lives without reſerve."

Had it been poſſible for this profligate and abandoned courtier to have exceeded in proſtitution the members which compoſed the aſſembly to whom he was ſpeaking, his harangue, which might have been miſtaken, had it proceeded

ceeded from any other mouth, as a piece of dull irony, Ann. 1685.
muſt undoubtedly have been the ſubject of ridicule, rather than of imitation; but the parliament were determined not to be outdone in ſubmiſſion or flattery: their anſwer to the king's letter came up, in all reſpects, to the ſtyle of the ſpeeches delivered by the commiſſioner and the chancellor. They aſſured his majeſty, that his commands were to them as ſacred as his perſon. In a vote, which they called an offer of duty, they acknowledged that all the Scotch monarchs, his majeſty's predeceſſors, had been veſted with a ſolid and abſolute authority; they declared their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions derogatory to the king's ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, and abſolute power, of which none, whether ſingle perſons or collective bodies, could participate, but in dependence on him, and by commiſſion from him; and they promiſed that every male in the nation, who was between the ages of ſixteen and ſixty, ſhould be in readineſs for his majeſty's ſervice, where, and as often as it ſhould be his royal pleaſure to require them.

EVERY other act paſſed by the Scotch ſavoured of the ſame ſpirit: they declared it high treaſon for any perſon to refuſe the teſt, if tendered by the council; to defend the obligation of the covenant, ſubjected a perſon to the like penalty; to be preſent at any conventicle, was made puniſhable with death and confiſcation of goods; and even ſuch as refuſed to give teſtimony in caſes of treaſon or nonconformity, were declared equally puniſhable as if guilty of theſe crimes. In order to ſerve a particular caſe, i. e. to effect the ruin of Sir Hugh Campbell, a gentleman of large fortune, whoſe remarkable trial has been related in this

Ann. 1685. this History, and who had been mentioned in the deposition of Carstairs, it was enacted, that if within six weeks any of the privy-council would depose that any man was proved to be guilty of treason, he should be attainted: and as a crowning act to the other memorable deeds of this infamous assembly, they settled the late king's revenue on the crown for ever, and they gave James, for his life, an additional income of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Close connection between the courts of England and France.—Sessions of Parliament.—Parliament prorogued.—Acts passed.—Affairs of Scotland.—Encampment on Hounslow Heath.—Arguments on the dispensing power.—The dispensing power determined by the judges in favour of the crown.—Papists admitted into all the departments of government.—Affairs of Scotland.—Affairs of Ireland.—Persecution of the French protestants.

THE insincerity of courts, with the easy credulity of the multitude, constantly duped by the repetition of gross deceptions, has been the subject of historical narrative from the earliest period of human annals; and will, in all probability, to the end of time furnish a fruitful source of entertainment to those satirical race of beings who delight in the follies and absurdities of the human character. The vaunts of the courtiers, and even of James himself, that he would no longer be governed by French counsels; that he would no longer prostitute the dignity of the English crown to the arrogant pretensions of the haughty Lewis; and that he would maintain the balance of Europe with a steady hand, has not passed unnoticed by the historians of either party: but the extreme insincerity with which these declarations were made, remained a secret even to the prying curiosity of political enmity, till the whole system of the policy of the court, and the individuals who composed it, was exposed to the inspection of the curious, by a publi- Ann. 1685.

cation

Ann. 1685. cation ſufficiently uſeful to open even the blind eyes of prejudice, if the ſtubbornneſs of will had not a power to act in oppoſition to the cleareſt conviction.

Cloſe connection between the courts of England and France.

The ſcheme of a total change in the civil and eccleſiaſtical government of the kingdom, through the aſſiſtance of France, was too agreeable to the temper and prejudices of the king to be laid aſide, even in the moſt mortified ſtate of his party; but when, by the ſucceſsful zeal of the Tories for enſlaving themſelves and their poſterity, that which at firſt carried the air of an improbability, was become a very feaſible undertaking, it gained a proportionable ſtrength in the opinion of James: he taxed his brother with timidity, for giving one moment's delay to the hopeful revolution; and he was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of power than he entered into the ſtricteſt concert with the court of France, for the attaining of thoſe deſirable ends which had been the objects of the firſt treaty. When James had ſent out writs for the calling a parliament, he condeſcended to make an apology to Barillon, for the having taken ſuch a ſtep without the permiſſion of the French king: he excuſed the meaſure on the neceſſity of procuring the eſtabliſhment of an independent revenue; he told the miniſter that he was ſenſible he could not undertake any thing for the papiſts without the aſſiſtance of the king of France; and he aſſured him, that he would not permit parliaments to dictate to him on the ſubject of foreign affairs, and that he knew too well the difficulties his deceaſed brother was thrown into, when he ſuffered himſelf to waver with regard to France, to follow his example in that particular.

Dalrymple's Appendix.

An apology for calling a parliament without the permiſſion of Lewis, was renewed in the ſame manner by the earl of Rocheſter, and the French miniſter was preſſed to obtain ſuch a ſupply as ſhould put the king in a condition of ſupporting himſelf without the aſſiſtance of parliament. Lewis, who had a much higher opinion of James's ſincerity in the particular point of religion than what he had experienced in the conduct of the late king, did not wait for the ſolicitations of the court of England on the ſubject of a ſupply: he entered with zeal into the views of his ally, and he ſhewed ſuch an anxious concern for the eſtabliſhment of his power, that he no ſooner heard of the death of Charles than he ordered a conſiderable ſum of money to be remitted for his uſe. This act of policy was conſidered by James as ſuch a ſincere token of perſonal attachment, that it drew tears of gratitude from his eyes. However, he ſeemed determined to make every poſſible pecuniary advantage of the friendſhip of Lewis: the full arrears of the ſubſidy ſtipulated to the late king was demanded; alſo a continuation of the ſubſidy to James, with an additional ſupply of two millions of livres, to enable the miniſtry to ſet the parliament at defiance, and to raiſe money without their authority, provided this aſſembly ſhould be found refractory on the ſubject of granting to the king an independent revenue. In the courſe of the conferences which paſſed on this intereſting ſubject, the king urged the glory which his brother of France would acquire, in being the principal inſtrument in re-eſtabliſhing popery in England. Lord Rocheſter affected to conſider the intereſt of the two kings as cloſely united: he pleaded the advantage Lewis gained by the late treaty in the acquiſition of Luxemburgh, and the preſcribing the terms of peace to his enemies; and Ann. 1685.

Ann. 1685. inſiſted on the neceſſity of fixing his maſter's authority, and giving a firm form to the government, by rendering him independent of parliament, and enabling him to ſupport a ſtanding army. Lord Godolphin talked in the ſame ſtyle; but lord Sunderland, with more boldneſs, propoſed a firm alliance offenſive and defenſive with France, and an avowed ſeparation from Holland and the houſe of Auſtria; and inſinuated that James's intention was only to preſerve appearances with the prince of Orange as far as good policy neceſſitated.

These overtures from the court of England were ſo well reliſhed by Lewis, that he remitted to Barillon the ſum of fifteen hundred thouſand livres for the ſervice of James; but with this precaution, that it was not to be delivered unleſs in the event of the king's diſſolving the parliament, and being reduced to the neceſſity of uſing force againſt his ſubjects; a circumſtance which, with the recent victory obtained over the Whig faction by the defeat of Monmouth and Argyle, with the large independent revenue which had been obtained from the Scotch and Engliſh parliaments, will ſufficiently account for that haughty and unaccommodating conduct, which, with the enthuſiaſm of a few hot-headed papiſts, in the end proved the ruin of a power which carried the ſtrongeſt appearances of ſtrength and ſtability.

The imprudence of James, in throwing off the diſſimulation with which he had hitherto veiled his deſigns in favour of the Roman Catholics, before he had obtained a parliamentary ſanction for a ſtanding army, with an adequate revenue to ſupport the enormous expence of a military go-

vernment, has been regarded as one of thoſe extraordinary phenomena in the hiſtory of human conduct, which carries the mark of an eſpecial interpoſition of irreſiſtible power: but when the language of the Tories of theſe times, with the ſpecimen of abject compliance the parliament had already exhibited, are taken into conſideration, alſo a variety of adventitious circumſtances, all tending to miſlead the king's judgment, and to give him a very exalted idea of his power and conſequence, and of the eſpecial countenance with which he had been favoured by an omnipotent Being, whoſe cauſe he fondly imagined was united to the intereſts of his perſonal importance; the philoſophical reader will determine, that it was very natural for human vanity, united to a high degree of ſuperſtition, to regard the prudent maxims of policy as a mean and ſinful hypocriſy; and to aſſume to the national aſſembly the ſame ſtyle of ſovereignty uſed by the French monarch, when his parliaments have the honour of regiſtering his decrees. Ann. 1685.

Seſſions of parliament.

It was early in the winter when the king thought proper to call the two houſes to a ſeſſion, and to inform them that the militia, which had formerly been ſo highly magnified, was now found by the experience of the late rebellion to be altogether uſeleſs; and to require them to grant him a ſupply anſwerable to the expences of maintaining the large army of regulars, which he had raiſed on the occaſion; to inform them that he had employed in his army, a great many catholic officers, in whoſe favour he had diſpenſed with the law, which required the teſt to be taken by every one who poſſeſſed any public office; and to aſſure them, that having reaped the benefit of their ſervices during ſuch times of dan-

Ann. 1685. ger, he was determined not to expoſe them to diſgrace nor himſelf, in caſe of another rebellion, to the want of their aſſiſtance.

At the end of this peremptory ſpeech, the king condeſcended to promiſe kindneſs and protection in return for ſteady loyalty; and to ſignify his reſolution even to venture his own life in defence of the true intereſts of the kingdom; a term, which from his majeſty's mouth, was now ſo plainly underſtood to be deſpotiſm and popery, that it caſt a great damp upon the countenances of his faithful commons, who, had he been contented to have uſed his diſpenſing power, without declaring ſuch a reſolution, in all probability would have made no enquiries into this dangerous abuſe of prerogative: but the being called upon to concur in the total overthrow of the civil and eccleſiaſtical rights of the conſtitution, occaſioned ſome degree of heſitation in the moſt determined loyaliſts; and when the king's ſpeech was taken into conſideration by the lower houſe, after having premiſed in a general vote to grant a ſupply, they ventured to examine the claim of a diſpenſing power, and to vote an addreſs to the king againſt it: however, before this ſymptom of oppoſition made its way to the throne, the conſideration of a ſupply was again reſumed, and, after a ſhort controverſy, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds were voted. The addreſs againſt the diſpenſing power, was expreſſed in the moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive manner that language could dictate; yet the king's anſwer, containing a flat denial, was uttered with ſuch warmth and vehemence, that the commons were ſtruck motionleſs in regard to the power of the tongue. A long ſilence enſued, which was at length interrupted by Coke, member for Derby; who riſing

up, ſaid, "I hope we are all Engliſhmen, and not to be frightened by a few hard words." This ſentiment of oppoſition, though expreſſed with great moderation, was ſo offenſive to the impeccable loyalty of the aſſembly, that they ſent Coke to the Tower, adjourned for a few days, and then proceeded to the conſideration of the ſupply; and even went ſo far as to eſtabliſh funds for paying the ſum voted in nine years and a half. As this ſubmiſſion in the commons evidently tended to realize all thoſe evils which threatened the proteſtant cauſe from the acceſſion of James, the public took the alarm; the lords reſumed the diſpute where the lower houſe had left it; and, what is yet more extraordinary, the church, whoſe principles of paſſive obedience, for more than half a century, had formed the capital part of their religion, now took the lead in oppoſition to the uncontroulable will of heaven's vicegerent. The upper houſe had been engaged in the firſt days of the ſeſſion, to give general thanks for the king's ſpeech, by which compliment they were underſtood to have acquieſced in every part of it; yet, notwithſtanding this ſtep, Compton, biſhop of London, in his own name, and in the name of his brethren, now moved, that a day ſhould be appointed for taking the ſpeech into conſideration. He was ſeconded by the marquis of Hallifax, who had been lately turned out of the preſident's chair, and was followed by the earls of Nottingham and Mordaunt. After a long debate, in which Jeffries, the chancellor, ſignalized himſelf by the ſame kind of inſolent language, which he had been accuſtomed to uſe on the bench, the biſhop of London's motion prevailed, and a day was appointed for taking his majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration. Ann. 1685.

JAMES,

Ann. 1685. JAMES, agreeable to the practice which had been introduced by the late king, was preſent in the houſe during this debate, and ſuffered his indignation to tranſport him ſo far beyond the bounds of prudence, that, without waiting the iſſue of the buſineſs, which, at the worſt, would have afforded him an opportunity of trying the ſame expedient which he had uſed with ſucceſs to the commons, he immediately proceeded to a prorogation *. An act of ſuicide on his

Parliament prorogued.

* Acts paſſed.

An act for ſettling the revenue on his majeſty for his life, which was ſettled on his late majeſty for his life.

An act to attaint James, duke of Monmouth, of high treaſon.

An act for granting his majeſty an impoſition upon all wines and vinegar, imported between the four and twentieth day of June, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty-five, and the four and twentieth day of June, one thouſand ſix hundred ninety and three.

An act for granting to his majeſty an impoſition upon all tobacco and ſugar, imported between the four and twentieth day of June, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty-five, and the four and twentieth day of June, one thouſand ſix hundred ninety-three.

An act for granting an aid to his majeſty, by an impoſition on all French linens, and all Eaſt India linen, and ſeveral other manufactures of India, and on all French wrought ſilks and ſtuffs, and on all other wrought ſilks; and on all brandies imported after the firſt day of July, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty-five, before the firſt day of July, one thouſand ſix hundred ninety-three, for the king's extraordinary occaſions.

An act for repealing certain clauſes in an act of parliament made in the nine and twentieth and thirtieth years of the reign of his late majeſty, for prohibiting French commodities.

An act for reviving and continuing two former acts for encouragement of coinage.

An act againſt the importation of gun-powder, arms, and other ammunition, and utenſils of war.

An act to enable his majeſty to make grants, leaſes, and copies of offices, lands, and hereditaments, parcel of his highneſs's duchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the ſame, and for confirmation of leaſes already made.

An act for the providing neceſſary carriages for his majeſty in his royal progreſs and removals.

An act for reviving an act for providing of carriages by land and by water, for the uſe of his majeſty's navy and ordnance.

An act for conſolidating the eſtates tail and reverſion in fee, which his majeſty hath in the poſt-office, and twenty-four thouſand pounds per annum of the hereditary exciſe.

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his own power, by which the public were happily taken out of the hands of a parliament unconſtitutionally ſelected, and who, in regard to character and abilities, had been picked out of the refuſe of the people. Ann. 1685.

It is agreed by all writers, not excepting even Mr. Hume, that the Tories and the high church-party, who formed at this period the large majority of the nation, were ſo well diſpoſed to reſign their liberties into the hands of the crown, that had not the king openly avowed his intention to change the religion of the country, he might without any legal oppoſition have rendered himſelf and his poſterity as arbitrary as the Great Mogul; and England, whoſe inhabitants had hitherto plumed themſelves on that elevation of ſentiment which guards the independence of man, would have ſubmitted without a ſtruggle to the ſame ſyſtem of ſlavery, to which, from circumſtances altogether independent on choice, their neighbours on the continent had been long ſubjected.

An act for reviving a former act for exporting of leather.

An act for continuance of three former acts, for preventing of theft and rapine upon the northern borders of England.

An act for rebuilding, finiſhing, and adorning of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London.

An act for clearing, preſerving, maintaining, and repairing the haven and piers of Great Yarmouth.

An act for reviving and continuance of ſeveral acts of parliament therein mentioned.

An act to encourage the building of ſhips in England.

An additional act for improvement of tillage.

An act to enable the inhabitants of the pariſh of St. Anne, within the liberty of Weſtminſter, to raiſe money to build a church, to be the pariſh church there.

An act for repealing a clauſe for dividing of commons in an act of parliament, made in the fifteenth year of king Charles the Second, intitled, an act for ſettling the draining of the great level of the Fens, called Bedford Level.

An act for creating a new pariſh, to be called the pariſh of St. James, within the liberty of Weſtminſter.

Ann. 1685. FROM the period of the Reſtoration, the nation had in a particular manner been influenced by the prejudices of the clergy, who regarding the exaltation of the monarchy as an exaltation of their own authority, preached up paſſive obedience to the civil powers, when they really meant an eccleſiaſtical tyranny: but though the political connection between them and the king, was evidently broken by his majeſty's deſigns in favour of the religion he profeſſed, it would not have been in their power to have effaced the impreſſions which their ſervile doctrine had made on the minds of the people, had he conducted his ſchemes with any degree of common prudence and diſcretion. It was found impracticable, even in this dangerous ſituation of affairs, to rouze the parliament to any declaration againſt a ſtanding army; and by this baſe connivance, the king acquired a kind of legal ſanction for any military eſtabliſhment which his finances might enable him to ſupport. Lewis, ſtill adhering to the ſyſtem of policy which he had purſued during the laſt reign, of diſuniting the legiſlative powers of England, was laviſh in his promiſes of ſupply; and James's frugal œconomy was a circumſtance highly favourable to thoſe lofty views of abſolute and independent power, with which he was enthuſiaſtically inſpired, and which in the end proved the downfall of his hopes, and the deliverance of the nation.

Affairs of Scotland. FROM the example of paſſive obedience which had been given by the Scotch parliament, the utmoſt compliance was expected to the king's will. James, in his letter to this aſſembly, recommended his innocent and catholic ſubjects, who lay under diſcouragements hardly to be named; and he deſired that they might not continue ſubject to obligations, which

which their religion could not admit of. The lord commiſſioner Murray, after promiſing the Scotch an indemnity for all paſt crimes and miſdemeanors, together with a variety of other national favours in point of commerce with England, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, and their own country, informed the parliament that the king wanted no ſupply, and only deſired, in return for ſo many favours, that they would give eaſe and ſecurity to ſome of his good ſubjects of the Roman catholic religion. Gracious as were theſe expreſſions, the parliament took no notice of the requeſt; and when Roſs and Paterſon, two Scotch biſhops, openly propoſed a repeal of the teſt act, the ſame men who had ſo baſely delivered up the rights of their country to the pleaſure of the crown, were fired on the ſubject of religious innovation; a circumſtance of conduct which evidently ſhews, that the moſt abandoned of the ſpecies are not totally void of principle; and that if the duties of morality and public virtue were as ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of men, as are modes of religious faith, they would adhere to them as tenaciouſly. After very earneſt and warm debates, all which could be procured of the parliament, was leave to prepare a bill to indulge papiſts in the private exerciſe of their religion, without repealing any of the penalties then in force againſt them, in caſe they ventured to worſhip in public; and when this bill was brought into the houſe, the oppoſition to it was ſo violent, that Murray received orders to prorogue the parliament. Ann. 1685.

After the prorogation of the Scotch parliament, Paterſon was promoted to the archbiſhopric of Glaſgow; and ſome of the oppoſing biſhops, by virtue of the king's ſupremacy, were removed from their ſees. In England, where

Ann. 1685. his majeſty's eccleſiaſtical power did not run quite ſo high. Compton received the marks of his diſpleaſure in having his name ſtruck from the council-book; ſeveral of his ſervants and officers, who had ventured to vote againſt his meaſures, were diſmiſſed from his ſervice; and at once to ſtrike a terror into the minds of the refractory in both kingdoms, and to give the ſoldiers, from a view of their numbers and ſtrength, a proper degree of confidence, the plan of a perpetual encampment of twelve thouſand men was regulated and eſtabliſhed on Hounſlow Heath, a chapel was opened at the head-quarters, maſs was every day publicly celebrated, and the king, when the affairs of his government did not demand his reſidence in the capital, preſided in perſon as commander in chief.

Encampment on Hounſlow Heath.

Ann. 1686. AMONG the number of evil counſellors to whom the unfortunate James owed the ruin of his fortune, and the loſs of thoſe ſingular advantages which attended his acceſſion to power, the earl of Sunderland ſhines the moſt conſpicuous, both in regard to his talents, his art of inſinuation, and that determined profligacy of mind, which ſets men looſe from all the operations of principle, the prejudices of opinion, or the powerful influence of moral and religious ſentiment. This conſummate ſtateſman, who had acted with the Whigs, and entered into the moſt violent of their meaſures, whilſt there was any hopes that their exertions would be crowned with ſucceſs, who had, notwithſtanding, ſuch a conduct found means to regain the entire confidence of the two brothers, and by this duplicity had acquired the capability of becoming an uſeful partiſan, or a dangerous enemy, now formed the deſign of continuing the abſolute miniſter of an abſolute monarch, if the nation ſhould yield

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their liberties without oppoſition; or to aſſume merit with the prince of Orange for that ruin to which he had urged his infatuated maſter. To the diſciples of Machiavel all things are lawful, which are found neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their ſchemes. Sunderland made no ſcruple to embrace popery in private, and James from this moment gave himſelf ſolely up to the guidance of his counſels: he was promoted to be preſident of the council, in the room of the marquis of Hallifax; Rocheſter, whow as conſidered as the head of the church party, was no longer admitted into the interior of the cabinet; and a ſelect council was appointed for concerting all meaſures to be taken which regarded the intereſts of popery. This cabal conſiſted of ſeven perſons, the king, lord Sunderland, father Peters a Jeſuit, who was confeſſor to the queen, and the lords Bellaſis, Powis, Arundel, and Dover; the place of its meeting was ſometimes at the earl of Sunderland's houſe, and at other times at Chiffins's lodgings, at Whitehall. Ann. 1686.

It was a ſaying of lord chief juſtice Hale, that the twelve red coats in Weſtminſter-hall were able to do more miſchief to the nation, than as many thouſands in the field: the court had a recent experience of their ſervices in the latter end of Charles's reign; and as it was now determined to procure a free admiſſion to papiſts into all the offices of government, civil and military, the authority of the courts of juſtice were called in to give a ſanction to that diſpenſing power in the crown, which had been brought into queſtion by the parliament. When the judges were founded on this important occaſion, four of them were found yet more obedient ſons to the hierarchy than to the crown; and though they had made no ſcruple to ſacrifice the lives of the inno-

Ann. 1686. cent, and the moſt material parts of juſtice to perſonal intereſt, their conſciences were not proof againſt the heinous crime of weakening the power and ſecurity of the church of England.

The lord chief juſtice Jones, newly ſtained with the blood of Corniſh; the lord chief baron Montague, who had been colleagued with Jeffries in his weſtern campaign; Sir Job Charlton, a compliant judge of the Common Pleas, and Sir Edward Nevil of the Exchequer, were diſmiſſed for non-compliance: their offices were ſupplied by Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir Edward Atkins, Sir Edward Lutwich, and baron Heath; and when the bench was filled with ſages, who were all of his majeſty's opinion, a feigned ſuit was brought againſt colonel Hales, a Roman catholic, by his coachman, for not taking the teſt. The colonel defended himſelf by pleading a diſpenſation from the king; and thus the deciſion of a queſtion, by twelve abſolute creatures of the crown, was to determine whether the conſtitution of England was in future to be conſidered as a limited or an abſolute monarchy. To gain a ſmall point of reformation, in oppoſition to the intereſts of eſtabliſhed power, has ever been regarded as a matter of ſufficient importance to ſatisfy the ambition of the warmeſt patriotiſm, and thus the amendment of all errors can only be effected at thoſe periods, when, by the depoſition of bad princes, the delegated powers of government return into the hands of the people. The Reſtoration of Charles the Second to the throne of his anceſtors was one of thoſe favourable opportunities for eſtabliſhing a correct ſyſtem of policy, which ſeldom occur in the annals of human ſociety: we have ſeen however with what madneſs it was rejected by the rage of faction; and

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the deciſions of an aſſembly, which could only be called into exiſtence by the king's authority, was now found a very inadequate defence againſt the exerciſe of prerogatives which had met with the acquieſcence of all preceding ages. Ac- Ann. 1686.

Arguments on the diſpenſing power.

cording to the arguments advanced by the lawyers on the ſide of the crown, the claim and exerciſe of the diſpenſing power could be traced up to the reign of Henry the Third: the parliament itſelf had allowed, that ſuch a right did exiſt in the crown in the reign of Henry the Fifth, when they enacted the law againſt aliens, and when they paſſed the ſtatute of proviſors; and even that jealous houſe of commons, which extorted the Petition of Right from Charles the Firſt, acknowledged the diſpenſing power in its fulleſt extent. In the twenty-third of Henry the Sixth, a law was enacted, prohibiting any man to ſerve in a county as ſheriff above a year, and a clauſe was inſerted, by which the king was diſabled from granting a diſpenſation: but in the reign of Henry the Seventh the caſe was brought to a trial before all the judges in the Exchequer-chamber; and it was decreed, that notwithſtanding the clauſe, the king might diſpenſe with the ſtatute, by firſt diſpenſing with the prohibitory clauſe, and then with the ſtatute itſelf. This opinion of the judges had ever ſince paſſed for undoubted law; the practice of continuing the ſheriffs had ever prevailed, and moſt of the property in England had been fixed by deciſions which juries, returned by ſuch ſheriffs, had given. In the courts of judicature, that law was diſpenſed with which prohibited any man to go a judge of aſſize in his own county; that which rendered all Welſhmen incapable of offices in Wales; and that which required every one who had received a pardon for felony, to find ſureties for his good behaviour. In the ſecond year of James the Firſt, a new conſultation of all the

Ann. 1686. the judges had been held in the Exchequer-chamber upon a like occaſion, where a diſpenſing power in the crown was again unanimouſly confirmed. It became an eſtabliſhed maxim in Engliſh juriſprudence, that though the king could not allow of what was morally unlawful, he could permit what was only prohibited by poſitive ſtatute: and Sir Edward Coke had particularly obſerved, that no law could impoſe ſuch a diſability of enjoying offices as the king might not diſpenſe with; becauſe the king, from the law of nature, had a right to the ſervices of all his ſubjects. This particular reaſon, ſaid the lawyers, as well as all the general principles, is applicable to the queſtion of the teſts; nor can the dangerous conſequence of granting diſpenſations in this caſe be ever received before a court of judicature, becauſe it might be ſaid, that every prerogative of the crown admits of abuſe. Should the king pardon all criminals, law muſt be totally diſſolved; ſhould he declare and continue perpetual war againſt all nations, inevitable ruin muſt enſue: yet theſe powers are entruſted to the ſovereign, and the preſent generation muſt be contented, as their anceſtors were, to depend upon his prudence and diſcretion in the exerciſe of them. In return to this court logic, the lawyers on the popular ſide peremptorily aſſerted, that a law could not be juſtly diſpenſed with, but by the whole legiſlative power; which not being wholly in the king, the king could have no right to exerciſe or aſſume. That diſpenſations came originally from Rome, and was firſt adopted by Henry the Third, that they were at firſt uſed in ſuch caſes in which the king alone was concerned, and for that reaſon he might remit or diſpenſe as he pleaſed. It was not till later times, that they were ſtretched to caſes which concerned the whole realm, nor was there any ſuch uſage as could warrant the diſpenſ-

ing with such a statute as was now in question; that neither law books nor the resolution of judges, nor the practice of judicatories, were of any authority against positive express acts of parliament; that even in the case of sheriffs, judges had sometimes the firmness to pronounce, that the king was guilty of an error, when he appointed a sheriff otherwise than as the statute directed; that as the dangers arising from popish recusants were regarded by king, lords, and commons, as of the utmost importance to be guarded against, so they had made all possible provision to do so. The very grant of any place or office but in the terms therein prescribed is adjudged void; the act itself prescribes the manner of trying, the fact declares the judgment, and leaves it only to the judges to apply that judgment to the case before them. The lord chancellor Nottingham, taking occasion to speak of the act in question, had declared it absolutely impossible for any concealed papist to get into office; and that those who made the act regarded it as a sufficient security to guard the nation against the calamity of having its power entrusted in the hands of those who were dependent on the see of Rome. Ann. 1686.

It is easy to perceive that arguments founded merely on practical convenience, when unsupported by power, would have little weight against the influence of the crown and the authority of precedent; yet unconvincing as they must necessarily be to dependent judges and corrupt courtiers, they were not made public before the important decision had taken place: they were urged in contradiction to the arguments in favour of the dispensing power, set forth by the lord chief justice Herbert in his defence for the unpopular judgment he had given: the trial itself was a mere feint in law,

Ann. 1686. law, and the arguments on the ſide of the proſecutor were framed on the purpoſe to be eaſily refuted. But to give every poſſible ſolemnity to the deciſion of a queſtion which carried conſequences of ſo important a nature, all the judges were formally aſſembled at Serjeants-inn, and the caſe having been ſtated, argued, and determined, the lord chief juſtice publicly pronounced in Weſtminſter-hall, that eleven out of twelve were of opinion, that the caſe was as clear as any that ever had come before the court; and that the diſpenſing power was neceſſarily lodged in the crown on the following grounds: firſt, that the kings of England are ſovereign princes; ſecondly, that the laws of England are the king's laws; thirdly, that on theſe grounds, it is an inſeparable prerogative of the kings of England to diſpenſe with penal laws upon particular neceſſary reaſons; fourthly, that of theſe reaſons and theſe neceſſities, the king is the ſole judge; and fifthly, that this is not a truſt inveſted in and granted to the king by the people, but the ancient remains of the ſovereign power and prerogative of the kings of England, which never was yet taken from them, nor ever can be.

The diſpenſing power determined by the judges in favour of the crown.

It was to have been imagined that the fatal conſequences which followed the deciſion of the cauſe of ſhip-money in favour of the crown, on poſitions equally inimical to the loweſt degrees of political liberty, popular privilege, or to any ſyſtem of legal government, would have been a ſufficient warning both to prince and people, at leaſt for ſome centuries, to guard againſt the returning to a ſituation where the public peace could only be maintained by mortifying conceſſions on one ſide, or the ſubmiſſion to an abſolute ſtate of ſlavery on the other: but though the conſequences of this

decision in the end proved fatal both to the king and peo- Ann. 1686.
ple, it must be acknowledged, that any prince not blessed with a more than common share of sagacity, would on the same delusive encouragments which James had met with from the Tory and church factions, have run into the same error; whereas these factions, which appear at this time to have made up the large body of the nation, had very little to say against the reasonableness of a doctrine which themselves had publicly acknowledged in their addresses to the throne: however, such was the alarm generally taken on the attempt of reducing to practice those speculative opinions which had been countenanced merely to serve a present purpose, and in opposition to the liberality of Whig sentiment, that had a parliament been summoned at this crisis, they would, in all probability, have endeavoured to have raised a better security for the enjoyment of religion and property than even the word of a king; but the present prospect afforded no such consolatory expectation. James had given a strong proof of the independence of his circumstances, by the contempt he had shewn for the seven hundred thousand pounds which he had lost by his sudden prorogation of parliament. An appeal to the sword, or any degree of resistance, had been condemned by the church as hellish and antichristian practices; and nothing now remained but a miraculous conversion of the king's judgment and faith, to secure the civil offices to the protestant laity, or even to defend from the hands of idolaters the sacred patrimony of the church. It was certain, if the king might repeal one law, he might repeal every one which stood in the way of inclination or principle; by this rule, popery might be established as the national religion; by this rule the sanguinary laws against protestants might be revived; and though it was true that

Ann. 1686. the papiſts in England were not equal in number to one in ten of the proteſtants, yet France and Ireland afforded them an inexhauſtible ſupply; and every true ſon of the church of England, was bound by its doctrines to yield not only a paſſive, but an active obedience to the ſovereign power.

Papiſts admitted into all the departments of government.

No ſooner was the king's diſpenſing power ſolemnly recognized, than four catholic peers, namely, the earl of Powis, the lord Arundel of Wardour, the lord Bellaſis, and the lord Dover, were admitted to the council-board; the office of privy-ſeal was taken from the marquis of Hallifax, and given to Arundel; ſeveral men of the higheſt rank, and of the king's firmeſt friends, for refuſing their aſſent to the repeal of the teſts, were removed from the civil and military offices which they held, and Roman catholics were put into their places; profeſſed papiſts were appointed judges, and introduced into all the inferior departments of government; they were made ſheriffs, juſtices of peace, lieutenants of counties, and the government of corporations was put into their hands. It was the king's care to convince men, that the only way to attain his affection, his confidence, or his countenance, was to become converts to his religion; and on this reaſon, the earl of Rocheſter, though his brother-in-law, his ſtaunch friend, his confidant, and his complying miniſter, was diſmiſſed from his office, becauſe he refuſed to give this inſtance of his complaiſance *, the treaſury was put into commiſſion, and Bellaſis was placed at the head of it.

* The king, who always retained a perſonal affection to the earl of Rocheſter, ſettled on him a penſion of four thouſand pounds a-year, notwithſtanding he had received a grant of twenty thouſand pounds on the eſtate of lord Grey. Burnet's Hiſt. fol. edit. p. 685.

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THE activity of the king's zeal for proſelytiſm was extended to every part of the Britiſh empire, and among the higher ranks in Scotland met with ſucceſs. The earls of Murray, Perth, and Melfort, were brought over to the court religion. Queenſberry, notwithſtanding the ſacrifices he had already made to his ambition, declined taking this neceſſary ſtep, and fell into ſuch a total diſgrace, that his paſt merits could not enſure him of ſafety from the vengeance to which his conduct had expoſed him; whilſt his rival, Perth, who had been on the brink of ruin from the complaints of miſdemeanors which Queenſberry had exhibited againſt him, now acquired the aſcendant, and through his means encouragement was given to all perſons who had any accuſations to bring againſt Queenſberry, either in relation to the adminiſtration of the government, or the management of the treaſury. Ann. 1686. Affairs of Scotland.

THOUGH the king had entertained a high contempt for the power of parliaments, yet his zeal for popery, with the anxiety of the papiſts, for the ſecurity of thoſe privileges which they had obtained from the prejudices of their prince, rendered him very deſirous of a parliamentary authority for the repeal of the teſts in England. He applied perſonally to a great number of the members of both houſes; the judges received orders to make the ſame application in their circuits; and it was not till after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts of this kind, that the parliament was diſſolved. In Scotland ſimilar meaſures were purſued; the judges, the officers of ſtate, and of the army, were ſolicited to contribute to the repeal of the teſts; the king wrote letters with his own hand to the dukes of Hamilton and Queenſberry to obtain their

Ann. 1686. conſent; and in order to pave the way for a general acquieſcence, the commiſſions of judges which were for life were changed and made to continue during pleaſure; the common-councils of almoſt all the boroughs were altered by the hands of ſovereign power, without either ſentence or ſurrender; a new miniſtry was formed, conſiſting of papiſts and nonconformiſts: and ſo entirely did James ſacrifice his former reſentments to his religious zeal, that Sir John Dalrymple, the ſon of lord Stair, was appointed lord advocate, lord juſtice clerk, and a privy-counſellor; and Stewart, who had been driven from Scotland for having been engaged in the Rye-houſe plot, and had aſſiſted Monmouth in his invaſion, now received a pardon for paſt offences, and, as ſecretary to lord Melfort, who was ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, was entruſted with all the ſecrets of government.

Affairs of Ireland. If there could remain yet a doubt in the breaſts of the Engliſh and Scotch proteſtants, that the king intended to exert the extent of his power in reſtoring popery with all its ancient privileges and ſplendor, through all the dominions of Great Britain, the tranſactions in the kingdom of Ireland, where the majority of the ſubjects were catholics, were calculated to confirm the belief of the moſt ſceptical politician. It is certain, by authentic proofs, that Charles for the purpoſe of ſupporting the aſcendancy which he had gained over the Whig faction in England, and as a commencement of the plan of reformation, intended to eſtabliſh the popiſh intereſt in Ireland; but the plan which this prince had begun to execute with timidity and heſitation, was perfected by his ſucceſſor with impetuoſity and violence. The duke of Ormond, who had received from the late king an item

item that his recall was intended, was removed from the seat of government by James, with the marks of an evident impatience, that his power ſhould be continued even for the ſhorteſt time: he was commanded to reſign the ſword immediately to two lords juſtices, one of whom was conſidered by the diſſenters as little removed from popery, and the other was regarded by the churchmen as a ſectary invidiouſly advanced to divide the proteſtant intereſt. But though the form of civil authority reſided in the perſons of theſe men, the whole power of the government was lodged in the hands of Talbot, general of the army, now created earl of Tyrconnel, who, from his infancy, had imbibed ſentiments hoſtile to the Engliſh government and the proteſtant religion. Ann. 1686.

THOUGH the courſe of this narrative has furniſhed a ſufficient number of facts to enable the reader to form ſome idea of the character of this turbulent Iriſhman, yet as he acted ſo capital a part in the affairs of Ireland during the unfortunate reign of James, it may be neceſſary to relate ſome particular traits of his character, as it has been deſcribed by the Iriſh hiſtorians. Tyrconnel was deſcended from the race of the old Engliſh of the Pale, and was born at a time when this race, on circumſtances which ariſe from long reſidence, from ſocial connection, and from ſimilarity of religious principle, were particularly united to the original Iriſh. As moſt of the old Engliſh of the Pale had concurred in the Iriſh inſurrection, they had been equally ſacrificed to the vengeance of the Engliſh government: Tyrconnel was among the few who eſcaped from the ſlaughter at Drogheda, and his habitual prejudices, heightened by a ſpirit of revenge, had fixed in his mind a violent averſion to all

Ann. 1686. all proteſtants. The fury of religious zeal has often proved the moſt formidable of all the human paſſions; but when this is the caſe, I believe it will be ever found that intereſt is the principle which ſets this paſſion in motion, or, rather under the guiſe of religious zeal, the attainment of carnal objects is purſued: for as the ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion evidently tends to ſoften and to civilize the human mind, the ſavage paſſions muſt naturally decreaſe in proportion to the elevation of religious ſentiment. Tyrconnel's attachment to the popiſh party, ſays Leland, was merely factious, without attention or regard to the different modes of religion. That profligacy and licentiouſneſs of manners, which is often plauſibly deſcribed under the agreeable quality of vivacity, had recommended Tyrconnel to the two brothers during their exile. As a proof of his attachment, he had offered to aſſaſſinate Oliver Cromwell; but though the ſame offer was made to the papiſts at the time when they were inflamed againſt the duke of Ormond, it is hinted that the fury of Tyrconnel's reſentment, and the activity of his ambition, were too well balanced by a happy timidity of temper, to run him into perſonal danger: however, according to Leland, he was incautious and precipitate, virulent in his cenſures, with a diſregard to truth which even became proverbial; furious in his animoſities to a degree of apparent frenzy, yet not with that placability which ſometimes attends the ſudden ſtarts of paſſion, his revenge was ſteadily and unalterably purſued, and through all the degrees of power which he gradually acquired, he inſulted and tyrannized over thoſe below him: the leaſt diſappointment in any of his attempts caſt him into a paroxyſm of rage, and every ſtep of his exaltation was enjoyed without temper, juſtice, or decency.

SUCH

SUCH was the man marked out by the preſent and deceaſed monarch, as the moſt proper perſon to accompliſh the grand ſcheme of reformation in Ireland; as ſuch he was advanced to the chief command over the army; and as ſuch he was entruſted with new and independent powers, which in a manner annihilated the civil authority. Ann. 1685.

WHILST the event of Monmouth's inſurrection hung in ſuſpence, the care of the government was directed to keep all things quiet in Ireland, and to ſo happy an effect, that the proteſtants in this kingdom vied in their principles of loyalty with the moſt orthodox of their brethren in England; the military marched with alacrity to the northern provinces to be tranſported, if neceſſary, againſt the adherents of Argyle; and papiſt and proteſtant expreſſed an equal abhorrence of Monmouth's attempt, and a reſolution to ſupport the monarchy in the perſon of James. Such indeed were the bleſſed fruits of the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, which had been ſo aſſiduouſly taught by the churchmen in both kingdoms, from the period of the Reſtoration, that the Iriſh proteſtants, notwithſtanding the alacrity they ſhewed to ſupport the government, had yet more occaſion than their brethren in England to dread the power of a popiſh prince, not only on account of the numbers, the temper, and the unabated reſentment of their popiſh fellow-citizens, but from ſome very extraordinary ſymptoms which appeared on the firſt acceſſion of James to the throne.

THESE ſymptoms of a hoſtile intention againſt the proteſtant intereſt increaſed daily, as the ſtate of the king's affairs

Ann. 1686. fairs grew more proſperous in England; but no ſooner was the Monmouth rebellion entirely ſubdued, than the juſtices, on the pretence of preſerving the public peace, received orders to diſarm all the proteſtants, and to depoſite their arms in the king's ſtores. An order of this nature was enjoining on the party a kind of felo de ſe; yet the proteſtants had the folly to ſubmit, and in their defenceleſs ſtate were immediately attacked and plundered by that ſavage banditti, who went under the appellation of Tories. While theſe violences were carrying on, the earl of Clarendon, in the character of lord lieutenant, arrived at Dublin.

FROM the exalted principles of loyalty which this nobleman poſſeſſed, an implicit obedience was expected; and ſo conſiſtent was his conduct to the doctrines which had lately prevailed among the orthodox in England, that his government afforded a very feeble protection to the Iriſh proteſtants againſt the injuries of the papiſts. Informations, ſays Leland, multiplied in every part of Ireland, and were daily heaped on the lieutenant, who ſaw clearly through their falſhood and malice; yet could not venture openly to diſcourage them, as the king retained an unprincely treatment of offences committed againſt him before his acceſſion, and as he affected a particular jealouſy of the proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland.

To increaſe the terror which theſe circumſtances impreſſed on the minds of the proteſtants, the earl of Tyrconnel was inveſted with authority to new-model the army; and particular orders were given to the lord lieutenant, for the admiſſion of Roman catholics to the freedom of corporations;

and the offices of ſheriffs and juſtices of peace, every day was now productive of ſome event which unfolded the determined deſign of the government, to ſubvert the acts of ſettlement, and annihilate the proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. The greater number of the officers of the army who were not catholics, were broke, though many of them had purchaſed their commiſſions; and five thouſand private proteſtant ſoldiers were diſmiſſed, ſtripped of their regimentals, and turned out to ſtarve in the ſtreets; the revenues of the vacant ſees were reſerved for the maintenance of popiſh biſhops; orders were iſſued, that the catholic clergy ſhould not be moleſted in the exerciſe of their functions, and that their prelates ſhould appear publicly in the habits of their order. The proteſtant clergy were prohibited from treating of controverſial points of divinity: the boldeſt and the moſt violent of the popiſh party declared, that in a few months, not one proteſtant would be left in the army; and now that they had obtained arms, they would ſpeedily regain their lands. Some of the old proprietors went ſo far as to caution the tenants againſt paying any rent to their Engliſh landlords, and the popiſh clergy forbad the people to pay tythes to proteſtant incumbents. Ann. 1685.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, the embarraſſed ſtate of the lord lieutenant was truly pitiable: he was honeſt in principle, yet feeble in underſtanding: he had been bred with the higheſt predilection to the church of England, and now found himſelf enthralled by her doctrines in a manner as to prevent him even from taking a negative part in thoſe plans which were levelled at her deſtruction: he was every day alarmed with intelligence of the extravagance of the pa-

Ann. 1686. piſts, and every day inſulted by the violence of Tyrconnel, who accuſed him of reluctance in obeying the king's orders, becauſe he did not at once pour in numbers of catholic freemen into the corporations, and eſtabliſh catholic magiſtrates in the ſeveral counties, before he could inform himſelf of their claims, characters, and qualifications. Clarendon, on his ſide, ſent over repeated remonſtrances, both to the king and lord Sunderland, againſt the furious conduct of Tyrconnel; yet declared the utmoſt readineſs to execute the king's purpoſes, whatever they might be, though in a manner leſs offenſive and alarming. To quiet the well grounded apprehenſions of the proteſtants, he recommended a commiſſion of grace for confirming titles, and a general pardon for offenſive words ſpoken againſt the king, whilſt duke of York. To theſe articles, recommended by the lord lieutenant, Sunderland returned no anſwer; James poſitively refuſed to repeat his former aſſurances of maintaining the acts of ſettlement by a proclamation; and even gave countenance to an accuſation framed by Tyrconnel's party againſt the lieutenant for male-adminiſtration. It was at this time, that lord Rocheſter, for refuſing to renounce his religion, was removed from the office of treaſurer; and though Clarendon's defence was clear and ſatisfactory, and he could hardly be ſaid to have given any obſtructions to the ſchemes purſued in Ireland, yet he was not thought an inſtrument ſuited to all the deſigns of the court. His removal became an object of deliberation in the cabinet, and Sunderland, to whom Tyrconnel had ſtipulated to pay an annual penſion from the Iriſh government, at the ſame time gratified his avarice, and flattered his maſter's prejudices and

6 partialities,

partialities, by warmly recommending him as a ſucceſſor to Clarendon. Ann. 1686.

THIS transfer of all the legal authority, as well as the military force, into the hands of their inveterate enemies, filled the proteſtants of Ireland with the utmoſt conſternation: an univerſal terror prevailed, every one whoſe circumſtances would permit him to take ſuch a ſtep, prepared to leave the kingdom, and when lord Clarendon embarked at the port of Dublin, he was attended by fifteen hundred proteſtant families out of that city. Great numbers of thoſe who on this occaſion deſerted Ireland, and eſpecially the diſbanded officers, repaired to Holland, where they were entertained and provided for by the prince of Orange; whilſt the proteſtant families who accompanied the earl of Clarendon to England, greatly contributed to infuſe into the nation a dread of thoſe violences to which from the growing prevalence of the popiſh faction, they might juſtly think themſelves expoſed.

Proſecution of the French proteſtants.

To the imprudent and injurious conduct of the king and his party in Ireland, an incident happened which greatly tended to excite the fears of the Engliſh proteſtants, and to heighten their natural animoſity againſt the popiſh communion. From a compliance with his vices, the Jeſuits had long gained an aſcendency over the mind of Lewis the Fourteenth, and they found little difficulty to perſuade a prince, who, for the gratification of his ambition, had without repugnance ſhed deluges of blood to make his peace with heaven at the expence of his ſubjects, rather than by the ſacrifice of his pleaſures and enjoyments. Lewis, in the full perſuaſion that the merit of ſuch a conduct would overbalance thoſe

Ann. 1686. deviations from religious precept, which nature and opportunity had occaſioned, with a true pious zeal, undertook to exert the full powers of his regal authority, in the converſion of all his ſubjects to the true faith. Rouvigny, who was deputy general to the proteſtant churches, on the firſt appearance of the approaching ſtorm, deſired an audience of the king, and plainly told him that every circumſtance of the temporal felicity which France for the laſt fifty years had enjoyed, aroſe from that internal peace which the ſtrict obſervance of the edict of Nantz had occaſioned. He gave him an exact account of the numbers, the induſtry, and the wealth of the body of Hugonots: he put him in mind of their conſtant readineſs to advance the revenue, and, what muſt be a yet ſtronger argument to a prince who loved power, and whoſe conduct for the laſt twenty years, had been in oppoſition to the politics of the court of Rome, who favoured the houſe of Auſtria, he obſerved, that if the French proteſtants were rooted out, the Roman pontiff would govern as abſolutely in France as he did in Spain. Other arguments, drawn from the principles of humanity, and the defacing a glorious reign by concluding it with a ſcene of domeſtic blood and carnage, were urged by Rouvigny, but were urged in vain. The king cooly told him that he took his freedom well, becauſe he believed it was meant for his ſervice: he believed all which he had ſaid of the prejudice which ſuch a conduct might do him in his affairs; but he conſidered himſelf as ſo indiſpenſably bound to endeavour the converſion of all his ſubjects, and the extirpation of hereſy, that if the doing it ſhould require that with one hand he ſhould cut off the other, he would ſubmit. Lewis, with a pious tenacity, adhered ſo firmly

firmly to his reſolution, that he repealed the edict of Nantz, Ann. 1686.
which was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law; and as by this repeal the proteſtants were entirely ſtripped of every ſtipulated privilege, the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers were let looſe upon them, and exerted without mercy *. All of thoſe unhappy religioniſts who could not effect an eſcape, experienced every ſpecies of cruelty inſeparable from a rigorous perſecution; above half a million of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious ſubjects deſerted France, and exported, together with immenſe ſums of money, thoſe arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. They propagated every where the tragical accounts of the injuries they had ſuffered, and neceſſarily revived in all the proteſtant ſocieties, a deep ſenſe of that bloody ſpirit of popery which had appeared in all ages. Either the bigotry or the complaiſance of James, induced him to ſend over congratulatory compliments to Lewis on the piety of his conduct, and the rapid progreſs he had made in extirpating hereſy out of his dominions: but he was ſo thoroughly ſenſible of the danger which his ſchemes in England would receive from the repreſentation of the refugees, that he affected to throw the higheſt blame on the perſecutions of France; and even went ſo far as to give the moſt real protection and aſſiſtance to the French hugonots, but with very little advantage to his cauſe. Men could not reflect without horror on the cruel bigotry of a religion which

Dalrymple's Appendix.

* Lewis was not ſatisfied with the perſecution of his own ſubjects; but by threats and perſuaſions prevailed on the duke of Savoy, to recall the edict his father had granted to the Vaudois, and to follow his example in the attempts to extirpate hereſy out of his dominions. This circumſtance greatly helped to increaſe the alarm taken by the proteſtant ſtates on the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Burnet's Hiſtory.

Ann. 1686. could incline a prince renowned for prudence, to embrace measures as impolitic as they were sanguinary: they compared the natural and acquired qualities of the two monarchs, with no advantage on the side of James; and they opposed the professions he affected to make, of a tolerating spirit to his recent conduct in Ireland, and to the severe administration which he had exercised against the nonconformists in Scotland.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Controverſial preaching prohibited.—Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.—The biſhop of London ſuſpended.—Suſpenſion of the penal ſtatutes enacted againſt the papiſts and nonconformiſts.—Diſſenters addreſs the king on the tolerating principles of his government.—Mortified ſtate of the church party.—Affairs of Scotland.—Attempt on Magdalene college.—Proceedings againſt the college for diſobedience.—Second declaration for a general toleration.—Nine biſhops remonſtrate againſt the order for reading it in the churches.—Biſhops committed to the Tower.—Trial and acquittal of the biſhops.—The queen delivered of a ſon.—Affairs of Ireland.

WHILST the laity only felt the weight of the prerogative, and in particular that part of the laity who were not inclined to ſubject their ſpiritual and temporal liberty to the power of the church, the pulpits reſounded with the duty of implicit obedience: the oppreſſive laws which were daily multiplying againſt proteſtant diſſenters, were juſtified and applauded; and to contend for relief againſt them, or to attempt aſſerting the rights of nature and of reaſon, was repreſented as a ſpecies of wickedneſs not to be endured by God or man. To the violent exertions of the clergy, and their influence over the beſotted multitude, James chiefly owed his ſucceſſion to the throne. The king, it was ſuppoſed, was tied, by the obligations of gratitude and intereſt, to ſupport the rights of ſuch powerful friends and advocates; and had his temporal power been alone the object of his ambition, he certainly never would have Ann. 1686.

Ann. 1686. have been tempted to break an union, which had ſo happily operated to the deſtruction of all thoſe rebellious ſpirits who had the boldneſs to attempt the defending the conſtitution againſt the encroachments of church and ſtate. It is plain by the reaſoning and conduct of the clergy, that they were not adepts in the knowledge of the human mind, or hiſtory of man, which affords a variety of inſtances, where an unfortunate alloy of virtue is followed by evil conſequences, ſeldom incurred by a character conſiſtently and uniformly wicked. In ſhort, James was not the Machiavilian politician which he appeared in the eyes of the church: his tyranny was inclination, but his bigotry was principle: he regarded that ſupport which the clergy on motives of policy had given in the low ſtate of affairs, as a ſpecial interpoſition of providence in his favour; and he conſidered it as a criminal want of faith in the power of an almighty agent to depend on the operations of human policy, for the ſucceſs of an undertaking which had met with the ſanction of divine authority. In the laviſh praiſes beſtowed on the clergy, for beating the drum eccleſiaſtic, and ſounding the alarm of popery through the whole nation, we are told by archdeacon Echard, that the laws of England having been given up by a few mercenary judges, the Roman catholics made it their buſineſs to derive all poſſible advantage from it: the free and open exerciſe of their religion was ſet up every where, and Jeſuits ſchools and ſeminaries were erected not only in London, but alſo in the moſt conſiderable towns in the nation. The church of England had now but a precarious title to be the national church, and began to ſee the impending dangers, which being increaſed by the ſlaviſh dependence of ſome few of her members, now threatened the whole body. Romiſh candidates had now ſwallowed up eccleſiaſtical

ecclesiastical preferments and dignities in their hopes and ex- Ann. 1686.
pectations. Four Roman catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the royal chapel, and dispatched down, under the titles of vicars apostolical, to exercise their episcopal functions in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to the lay catholics of England, were dispersed about the country, and printed by the king's printer with public licence: their regular clergy appeared in their habits at Whitehall and St. James's, and made no scruple to tell the protestants, that they hoped in a little while to walk in procession through Cheapside. The building of St. Paul's cathedral was carried on with greater vigour than before, in expectation that it would in time turn to the benefit of the papists; a mighty harvest of new converts were daily expected, and that labourers might not be wanting, whole flocks of priests and regulars were sent from beyond sea to reap it; in short, the only step to preferment was to be of the king's religion, or a promoter of it. All important affairs were managed in the privy-council by papists and some few others, whose actions were more difficult to excuse or to extenuate.

With these provocations, it is no wonder that the church so lately triumphant, should become the church militant; and that she should commence a vigorous opposition to court measures. It was now acknowledged, that her power, her consequence, and even her existence, was more immediately in danger from popery than from fanaticism: great pains were taken to expose the gross errors and mischievous pretensions of the church of Rome; and to revive the national antipathy against this dreaded sect, a controversial war ensued. Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and other able divines of the

Ann. 1686. church of England, were found ſo greatly an overmatch in point of abilities for a few hot-headed zealots, who could hardly write tolerable Engliſh, that it rouſed the reſentment of the papiſts, the court were alarmed and enraged, and the clergy were prohibited by letters mandatory to the biſhops, from entering into any point of controverſy. Direction of a like nature had been promulgated by the late king in the beginning of his reign; but as this was ſuppoſed to have been done in defence of the church, and to ſilence fanatical innovation, they were readily ſubmitted to; but the caſe was now apparently altered. Such directions were ſaid to be founded on no legal authority, and inſtead of avoiding controverſy, according to the king's admonition, the preachers every where declaimed with more than ordinary violence againſt popery. Dr. Sharp, a clergyman in the dioceſe of London, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and as he affected to throw contempt on all thoſe who had been induced to change their religion, by ſuch pitiful arguments as the Romiſh miſſionaries could ſuggeſt, his ſermon was ſuppoſed to reflect on the underſtanding of the late and preſent king, and poſitive orders were iſſued to the biſhop of London, to ſuſpend Sharp from the functions of his office, till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be farther known. The biſhop replied, that he could not poſſibly obey theſe commands, and that he was not empowered in ſuch a ſummary manner to inflict any puniſhment, even upon the greateſt delinquent; but however, to reconcile as much as poſſible the doctrines which had been long maintained by the church with her preſent ſpirit of oppoſition, he added, that Sharp was ſo willing to give his majeſty all reaſonable ſatisfaction, that he had made him the bearer of the letter. Sharp ſolicited in vain for admittance, and the prelate con-

Controverſial preaching prohibited.

descended so far as to prevail upon Sharp to desist for some time from preaching, and to write a petition to the king, expressive of sorrow that his words had given occasion for constructions which were offensive, with a promise, that he would be more guarded for the future. Ann. 1686.

The king's resolution was too well known for the bishop to have formed any hopes, that such intercessions would be of any avail, but they served to render severity inexcusable. James, on his side, determined to seize the opportunity of punishing the bishop for his conduct in the house of lords, and in so doing to assume an authority, by which, like his predecessors, he might be enabled to regulate or change the religion of the country at his pleasure.

By an act passed in the seventeenth of Charles the First, the high commission court, that engine of spiritual tyranny, by which the Tudors had reigned despotically over the consciences of the people, was abolished, and provision was made, that no new court should be erected with like power, jurisdiction, and authority; and any person convicted of any offence prohibited by the statute, was to be utterly incapable of continuing in office, &c. thus an effectual bar was made to a tyranny which had been found more unsupportable to Englishmen than the papal yoke: but when, on the restoration of Charles the Second, the clergy came again into full power, another act was passed to secure the claims and prerogatives of the bishops courts, in which it was expressly declared, that nothing in the former act did, or should, take away the ordinary power of the archbishops, bishops, &c. This clause in favour of the power of the church, gave opportunity to Jeffries, whose favour at court was now

Ann. 1686. in the wane, to insinuate that there was no other power taken from the ecclesiastical commissioners than that of fining, imprisoning, or tendering the oath ex officio. This pretence of enlarging the authority of the crown in matters of religion, was eagerly adopted by the papists, and a commission was made out, addressed to four spiritual and four lay lords, authorising them to execute, under the king, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminencies, in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realm of England and dominion of Wales; and to visit and reform all abuses which by the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws of the realm, could be lawfully reformed. These commissioners were likewise empowered to call before them all ecclesiastical persons of every degree and dignity, and to punish them according to the measure of their real or suspected offences, by suspension, privation, and other punishments or censures, according to the ecclesiastical laws of the realm. The commissioners were authorised to exact the attendance of witnesses, to examine them upon oath, and to use their judgment in awarding costs and expences to the parties who should prosecute causes before them. The two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the cathedrals, collegiate churches, colleges, grammar-schools, and every ecclesiastical corporation, were put under their direction and controul; they had a power to correct, amend, and alter their several charters and statutes; and where no statutes were to be found, to make new ones for the government of the several incorporate bodies, notwithstanding any laws, statutes, proclamations, grants, privileges, or ordinances, which were, or seemed to be, contrary to the several articles of the commission.

Ecclesiastical commission.

In

In the aſſuming ſuch an authority, James not only gained an unlimited power over the church of England, but alſo in the direction of public education; and his deſign of ſubjugating the whole body of the clergy to the controul of his will and pleaſure was ſo openly avowed, that it muſt be acknowledged, he could not have fallen upon a better plan to have aſcertained the ſincerity of thoſe doctrines reſpecting ſubmiſſion and obedience, which had been ſo ſedulouſly inculcated from the pulpit for the improvement both of prince and people. Ann. 1686.

COMPTON, biſhop of London, was the firſt perſon cited to appear before this formidable court, which conſiſted of Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury *, Crew, biſhop of Durham, Sprat of Rocheſter, Jeffries the chancellor, Herbert chief juſtice, the earl of Rocheſter, treaſurer, and the earl of Sunderland, preſident of the council. Compton at firſt denied the legality of the court, and claimed the privileges of all Chriſtian biſhops, to be tried by the metropolitan and his ſuffragans; but he received ſuch rough treatment from Jeffries, that he at length ſubmitted, and pleaded in his defence, that as he was obliged, if he had ſuſpended Sharp, to act in the capacity of a judge, he could not, conſiſtent either with law or juſtice, pronounce ſentence without a previous citation and trial; that he had by petition recited this difficulty to his majeſty, and not receiving any anſwer, he had reaſon to think that his petition had given entire ſatisfaction; that in order to ſhew his farther deference, he

* Sancroft, who was a cautious timid man, declined attendance, by pleading the ill ſtate of his health: his excuſe was accepted, and the biſhop of Cheſter was put in his place.

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The biſhop of London ſuſpended.

Ann. 1687. THE next ſtep taken by the king, was the meaſure which above all others alarmed the fears and rouſed the reſentment of the church, and on this reaſon may be conſidered as the leading cauſe which produced the effectual ruin of his ſchemes, and the privation of his power. The laws enacted from time to time againſt recuſants, had been found equally grievous to the proteſtant diſſenters as to the papiſts. It was on this conſideration, that the papiſts on the reſtoration of their patron Charles the Second, projected the plan of a general toleration; and as the proteſtant diſſenters formed at this time a majority of the kingdom, had they heartily joined in the plan, the penal laws would in all probability

* This act of complaiſance in the earl of Rocheſter, was the laſt effort he made to preſerve the favour of the king, and almoſt immediately preceded the demands made on him on the article of faith, and his conſequent diſmiſſion.

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the diſſenters rejected with diſdain all propoſals of any plan of toleration in which the papiſts were to be comprehended, and it is to their obſtinacy in this point, that the church was enabled to baffle all the attempts made by the king for granting a general indulgence, by virtue of the prerogative royal. The ſteady oppoſition of the diſſenters to the ſucceſs of the ſchemes on foot in favour of popery, incurred the vengeance of the court, without ſoftening the rancour of the high church party, and a triple alliance took place between the court, the papiſts, and the hierarchy. The diſſenters were the deſtined victims: every ſeſſions of parliament produced a new penal ſtatute againſt them, and except a ſmall interruption which aroſe from the popiſh plot, the whole of the laſt reign was a ſeries of unremitted perſecutions againſt every mode of religion, but the popiſh and the prelatical. The preſent violent and unexpected oppoſition of the church to the intereſts of the papiſts, and her ſevere perſecution of the diſſenters, rendered her the common enemy, and could any faith have been given to the preſent profeſſions of the papiſts, it was undoubtedly the political intereſt of every ſect of nonconformiſts to unite againſt the power of a body of men, whoſe government had been diſtinguiſhed for its ſpirit of rancorous perſecution. On theſe grounds of reaſoning, James, from a ſeverity which in the laſt reign had rendered him very odious to the proteſtant nonconformiſts, affected to be conſidered as a great patron of toleration, and an enemy to all thoſe perſecuting laws which, from the influence of the hierarchy, had been enacted againſt the diſſenters. Not contented with granting diſpenſations to particular perſons of all perſuaſions, he aſſumed a power of ſuſpending the whole ſyſtem of laws provided

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Ann. 1687. Suſpenſion of the penal ſtatutes enacted againſt the papiſts and nonconformiſts.

vided by the authority of the legiſlature againſt nonconformity, and publiſhed a declaration of indulgence in favour of all his ſubjects, by which he not only gave them a full toleration in matters of religion, but diſpenſed with their taking the teſts, and thus laid open all offices to papiſts, diſſenters, and churchmen alike.

Beſides the preſent eaſe which the proteſtant nonconformiſts experienced from the protection afforded by this edict, they found themſelves all at once removed from a ſtate of adverſity into the ſun-ſhine of court favour. Several of thoſe who had been the moſt obnoxious on account of their oppoſition to the meaſures of the laſt reign, and to the acceſſion of James, were taken into office; and although it was very apparent, that the violence and ſeverity of the king's temper, and the maxims of his religion were repugnant to the tolerating principles which he affected; although they muſt have remembered, that during the government of his deceaſed brother, and alſo at his firſt acceſſion to the throne, he had courted the church at the expence of the diſſenters; although they muſt have reflected, that it was not till after his ſchemes in favour of popery had been rejected by the prelates, that he had recourſe to the nonconformiſts; yet ſo grateful to the ſenſe of man is preſent eaſe after long ſuffering. Such was the well-founded reſentment which theſe ſectaries entertained againſt the church for the ſeverities her influence had inflicted on them, that they could not help rejoicing at the preſent ſtate of humiliation to which ſhe was reduced: ſome addreſſes were ſent up, in which the king was complimented for the Chriſtian ſpirit manifeſted in his ſyſtem of government, in which the proceedings of the clergy were ſeverely reflected on, and which con-

Diſſenters addreſs the king on the tolerating principles of his government.

tained great proteſtations of fidelity and gratitude, with pro- Ann. 1687.
miſes that endeavours ſhould be uſed for the election of ſuch perſons in parliament as ſhould chearfully concur with the king, in the eſtabliſhing a general toleration on the baſis of law. This conduct of the diſſenters, ſo agreeable to the common courſe of the human paſſions, raiſed the ſpirits of the court to a very extraordinary height: the king made the cruelty of the church of England the common topic of his diſcourſe; he reproached them for being the promoters of all the violent perſecutions which had raged againſt the diſſenters; he expoſed the ſecret intrigues of the clergy, he aſſerted that ſome of the leaders of this body had undertaken to ſhew favour to the papiſts, provided they might be ſtill ſuffered to perſecute the diſſenters *; and to give a ſubſtantial proof of the ſpirit by which the clergy were agitated, an enquiry was made into all the vexatious ſuits into which diſſenters had been proſecuted in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and into the compoſitions which had been exacted to ſcreen them from ruin: thus the deceiver was caught in his own ſnare, and, according to Burnet, ſo mortifying was the preſent ſituation of the church, that the brethren were reduced to a ſtate of temporary penitence, and made many ſolemn reſolutions, that if God ſhould deliver them out of their preſent diſtreſs,

Mortified ſtate of the church party.

* According to Burnet, Roſs and Paterſon, two Scotch biſhops procured an addreſs to be ſigned by ſeveral of the bench, offering to concur with the king in every thing he deſired reſpecting thoſe of his own religion, provided the laws might ſtill be in force and executed againſt the preſbyterians; but when this petition was communicated by Paterſon to the earl of Middleton, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, he was adviſed never to ſhew the paper; it would be made uſe of againſt the order, and render them odious; for the king and his papiſts were ſo ſenſible, that it would be an indecent thing to pretend to any eſpecial favour for the papiſts, that they would never move but for a general toleration. Burnet, p. 680.

Ann. 1687. they would never renew the errors they had been guilty of in their conduct to the nonconformists.

The ſcrutiny into all the vexatious ſuits which had been brought into the eccleſiaſtical courts againſt the diſſenters, was followed by a mortification yet more ſenſibly felt by the church, becauſe it flowed from the conſequence of their treachery to the conſtitution. By the king's eſpecial orders the court of aldermen, the common-council of London, and ſeveral corporations, were filled with nonconformiſts; the offices of juſtices of peace and deputy lieutenants, were taken out of the hands of the church party, and put into thoſe of the papiſts and the diſſenters; and it was avowed by government, that the intention of this change was to gain ſecurity for the declaration of indulgence.

Affairs of Scotland.

When James applied to the Scotch parliament on the ſubject of a toleration, he deſired an indulgence for the catholics alone, without comprehending the diſſenters; but when, to the utter diſappointment of thoſe expectations he had formed from their former conduct, he found them adhere pertinaciouſly to their religion, and that an exertion of prerogative was neceſſary, he deemed it prudent to intereſt the preſbyterians in the ſupport of this act of authority. The principles of toleration were now highly extolled; permiſſion was granted to attend conventicles; the leaders of the party were veſted with office; and, in all probability, the covenanters might have been taken in the ſnare, had not the penning the declaration been left to the care of men, whoſe zeal for the preſent mode of adminiſtration was ſtronger than their judgments, or whoſe principles of government, joined to the remembrance of paſt injuries, prevented them from acting

acting with the integrity neceſſary on this important occa- Ann. 1687.
ſion. It was declared in expreſs terms, that his majeſty had thought fit by his ſovereign authority, prerogative, royal and abſolute power, which all his ſubjects were bound to obey without reſerve, to grant his royal indulgence, &c. It muſt be acknowledged that the ſervile language of the Scotch parliament had given a kind of authority for the uſe of theſe exalted expreſſions; and alſo that the declaration was new modelled on the exceptions which were made to it; but the circumſtance which above all others alarmed the whole body of proteſtants, was his majeſty's declaring in his edict for a toleration, that he never would uſe force or invincible neceſſity againſt any man, on account of his perſuaſion or the proteſtant religion. This was not only publiſhing the predominancy of popery, but admitting a conſiderable latitude for perſecution and violence; nor was the declaration which had been publiſhed in England, though in the main it contained very liberal ſentiments, and was replete with expreſſions of fatherly tenderneſs towards the people, totally free from paſſages which marked thoſe ſanguine expectations with which the party was at this time ſo wonderfully elated. In this indulgence, the king promiſed that he would maintain his loving ſubjects in all their properties and poſſeſſions, as well of churches and abbey lands as of any other; and in proof that the king and his deceaſed brother regarded the circumſtances of intereſt to be the principal objection, which among the cavaliers at leaſt lay againſt the re-eſtabliſhment of popery, Charles, in a letter to the ducheſs of Orleans, mentions the ſecurity of the church and abbey lands to the proprietors, as one of the baits intended to be uſed to procure an acquieſcence to the meaſure.

Ann. 1687. THAT period of the Engliſh annals, in which the regal power was deſpotically exerted and implicitly obeyed, affords a ſtriking inſtance that civil and religious factions are yet more inimical to domeſtic liberty than to national proſperity; and that the art of conducting the worſt meaſures of government with ſucceſs, depends entirely on a judicious management of parties. The Engliſh, notwithſtanding their boaſted conſtitution, were undoubtedly abject ſlaves to the Tudor family, who changed the national religion according to their caprice or intereſt three times: this is an example unknown in the hiſtory of any other nation, and was effected merely by the equality which then prevailed between the proteſtant and popiſh faction. The impunity with which Henry the Eighth had exerciſed all that rapacity and injuſtice, which diſgrace both the king and people, with the cruelties which ſtain the ſhort reign of Mary, was ſingly owing to the rancorous animoſity which ſubſiſted between theſe factions: even the indolent Charles the Second, after ſeveral ſtruggles with the friends of liberty, came off victorious in every point, through the eager deſire of the prelatiſts to cruſh the diſſenters; and was enabled ſo entirely to ſubdue the vital energy of the conſtitution, that the eſtabliſhment of popery might have been eaſily and ſecurely effected by his ſucceſſor, had he not very abſurdly, in the commencement of his reign, founded a general alarm of his intentions in favour of the predominancy of the popiſh faction. Even this raſh ſtep might afterwards have been rectified in the opportunity which the reſentment of the nonconformiſts againſt prelatical cruelty offered: for though the prejudices of ſeveral writers have led them to aſſert the contrary, yet certain it is, that notwithſtanding every part of the king's conduct betrayed his predilection in favour of his popiſh ſubjects,

subjects, and his design to render popery the governing religion in England; even after several sees had been left vacant for the purpose of filling them up with the popish clergy; even after the actual gift of the deanery of Christ-church to one of this religion; even after public seminaries were opened for the instruction of youth in the popish faith; even after the king, by the dismission of the earl of Rochester, had shewn that the emoluments of power and office were open only to the sons of the orthodox church; and even after the earl of Castlemain had been sent ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his majesty's obeisance to the pope; and that the king, notwithstanding an act of parliament which declared any communication with his holiness high treason, had given his nuncio a public and solemn reception at Windsor; the declaration of indulgence by which the nonconformists were set loose from the persecuting arm of the church, was received with approbation and thankfulness; and in proportion as the breach between the king and the church widened, addresses were poured in from every quarter of the kingdom, animosities grew high between the different factions, the one upbraiding their protestant brethren with their desertion of the protestant cause, and the other reminding the church of England of her past rigours, her servile compliances, her base sacrifice of the rights of the constitution to her imaginary interest, and insulting her present misfortunes. It is easy to see that a small degree of prudence and forbearance on the side of the king and his party, with a continual supply of fuel to support and to heighten the flame of contention, would have brought matters to such a pass as to render it impracticable for the friends of a revolution to produce that union among the pro- Ann. 1687.

Ann. 1687. proteſtants as was neceſſary to effect the deſired purpoſe; and that the prelatiſts would either have been neceſſitated to ſubmit to the conſequences of an over-refined policy, or, in contradiction to their avowed doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, have ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion, and have unſheathed the ſword againſt the Lord's anointed, without any pretence for any after evaſion by laying the blame of hoſtilities on the reſtleſs ſpirit of the nonconformiſts.

UNFORTUNATELY for James, neither his preſent ſituation, the blindneſs of his prejudices, nor the impetuous ardour of his diſpoſition, enabled him to reap any advantage from the overſights of his opponents: the public addreſſes which continually poured in upon him, elated his ſpirits to a degree of intoxication; and the apprehenſion, that if he left his work half done, on the ſucceſſion of his daughters all hopes of a reſtoration for popery would be for ever cruſhed, and the papiſts would pay dearly for their ſhort-lived proſperity, occaſioned him to hurry matters on to that fatal point of extremity, by which the friends of the prince of Orange were enabled to effect ſuch a temporary ceſſation of hoſtilities between the contending factions, as was neceſſary for the ſucceſs of their ſchemes.

Father Francis, a Benedictine, had been recommended by the king's mandate to the univerſity of Cambridge, for the degree of maſter of arts; and as it was uſual for the univerſity to pay ſuch a compliment to perſons eminent for their learning without any regard to their religion, and as they had lately admitted the ſecretary to the Morocco ambaſſador, the king judged himſelf entitled to a compliance. However, ſuch were the apprehenſions entertained of the papiſts,

papiſts, that the univerſity refuſed to obey the king's mandate, and were cited to appear before the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. In defence of their proceedings the univerſity urged, that there was a great difference between a compliment paid to a foreigner, and degrees, which gave a title to vote in all the elections and decrees of the univerſity. When their vice-chancellor was ſuſpended, they prepared to renew the conteſt by chuſing a man to ſucceed him of a determined ſpirit, and the king had the prudence to drop for the preſent his pretenſions. The flattering aſpect which affairs wore on the cordial manner in which the declaration for a general toleration was received by the nonconformiſts, occaſioned the king to renew the attempt on the univerſity of Oxford, which had rendered itſelf ſo famous for the ſolemn decree which it had paſſed in favour of paſſive obedience; a circumſtance which undoubtedly excited his majeſty to put their ſincerity to the proof, when the opportunity occurred to reduce their doctrines to practice. On the death of the preſident of Magdalene college, a mandate was ſent in favour of Farmer, a man of a diſſolute character, and whoſe ſole merit lay in the having renounced the faith in which he was bred, for the religion of the court: on the receiving a negative to ſome very ſubmiſſive applications for the recalling the royal mandate, on the day of election the college choſe Dr. Hough, a man of virtue, and whoſe firmneſs of temper could be relied on for the maintaining the rights of the univerſity.

Ann. 1687.

Attempt on Magdalene college.

The vice-preſident and fellows of the college were cited before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners; the new preſident was deprived.

Ann. 1687. deprived of his preferment, and two of the fellows were ſuſpended; but when the profligate life of Farmer became public, the former mandate was withdrawn, and a new one was made out in favour of Parker, biſhop of Oxford, whoſe conduct had been far from exemplary, but who had atoned for the frailties of the fleſh, by becoming a convert to popery. The college again repreſented, that all preſidents had ever been appointed by a free election, and that there were few inſtances of the king's interpoſing by his recommendation in favour of any candidate; and as they had already made a regular election of a preſident, they could not during his life deprive him of his office, and ſubſtitute another in his place: but even if there was a vacancy, Parker, by the ſtatutes of the founder was not eligible, that the fellows of the college were all bound by oath to obſerve theſe ſtatutes, and never on any account to accept of a diſpenſation, and that the college had at all times diſtinguiſhed itſelf ſo much for its loyalty, that nothing but the moſt invincible neceſſity could now oblige them to oppoſe his majeſty's inclinations.

THE wonderful effects which the ſmiles of royalty have on the multitude, were ſufficiently manifeſt to James, to induce him to viſit the different parts of his kingdom, in the intention of enlarging his influence in parliamentary elections: he was on a progreſs to the Weſt, where he was loaded with compliments and congratulations, when he received intelligence that the college had refuſed his mandate to admit of the election of Parker. It is natural for the mind, in a ſtate of exultation, to behold any oppoſition to its will with anger and contempt: the king was determined to try what effect the glory of majeſty would produce on a ſet of men who had raiſed the authority and dignity of princes almoſt

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to an equality with omnipotence; and he accordingly resolved to make Oxford a part of his progreſs, in order to confound the diſobedient fellows with the perſonal reſentment of their offended ſovereign. The college endeavoured to appeaſe the wrath of the king by every act, but that of obedience to his will; but when they offered their petition on their knees, it was not accepted. They were told that they were a ſtubborn turbulent college; they were aſked whether this was the church of England's loyalty, and, what was yet more mortifying, they were told to go home, and ſhew themſelves good members of a church who piqued herſelf on the acting on principles of implicit obedience. His majeſty might undoubtedly have alſo charged them to act conſiſtently to the ſolemn decree of their own body; but principles change with times, and conſcience with intereſt. The college were ſo firm to the new doctrine of ſetting up law and precedent againſt all the pretenſions of prerogative, that James found himſelf obliged to put his threats into execution, though with the violation of a promiſe which he had ſolemnly repeated, of committing no innovations on private property. A deputation from the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was ſent down: the preſident, and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college. Parker was put into the poſſeſſion of the office by a ſentence of the ſame court: theſe rebellious ſons of a loyal church were made for ever incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical preferment; and, to compleat the mortification of the clerical order, a vindication of the proceedings of the commiſſioners was ſet forth, in which, among a variety of matters, it was aſſerted, that it was impoſſible for the church party to arraign the conduct of his majeſty's commiſſioners, or to condemn the legality of their proceedings without condemning themſelves

Ann. 1687.

Proceedings againſt the college for diſobedience.

Ann. 1687. for what they had done againſt the puritans; that the agreement between what the king had done, and the church of England law, was ſo exact and full, that it was alſo impoſſible for churchmen to vindicate the proceedings of the Magdalene fellows without tearing up the very foundations of their own eccleſiaſtical conſtitution; that the legiſlative power in matters eccleſiaſtical, was lodged in the king, which power was too ample to be limited by act of parliament; that the king could grant what diſpenſations the pope had formerly done, provided his diſpenſations were not mala in ſe; that the Magdalene fellows were no longer obliged by their ſtatutes, after they had received his majeſty's diſpenſation, which took away all their force *; that in denying the juriſdiction of the court, they endeavoured to raviſh from the king a part of his ſupremacy; that in pretending conſcience as an excuſe for their diſobedience, they made uſe of the very cant which thoſe of their own church had ſo often exploded; that when the poor diſſenters, who had not gone half ſo far in their diſobedience to the regal authority, made uſe of the ſame plea, the prelatiſts had cenſured them as ſeditious, factious, and rebellious, and declared them incapable of any eccleſiaſtical benefice; and laſtly, that it was his majeſty's royal pleaſure, that his commiſſioners ſhould not exerciſe that ſeverity againſt thoſe of the church, which they had exerciſed againſt their proteſtant brethren, nor to take thoſe advantages againſt them which

* This pretenſion of the king was ſupported by a precedent in the arbitrary reign of queen Elizabeth, when by virtue of the prerogative royal, and contrary to the expreſs dictates of an act of parliament, directions were ſent down to the univerſity of Cambridge, to uſe in their churches and chapels the form of prayer in the Latin tongue.

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he had a right to do, unleſs he ſhould be driven to it by ſome very violent provocation. Ann. 1687.

FROM the intimate connexion which the univerſities have with all the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, and the influence they muſt neceſſarily retain over all thoſe who have received their education in theſe ſeminaries, the violence uſed to the Magdalene fellows begot a more univerſal diſcontent againſt the king's adminiſtration, than any other part of his conduct: but as if determined to put the patience and the loyalty of the church to the utmoſt teſt, he now publiſhed a ſecond declaration of indulgence, wherein he promiſed to call a parliament in the November following; a meaſure which was regarded with the higheſt degree of apprehenſion by the clergy, becauſe it was known that the king would ſuffer no parliament to meet, who did not come determined to enter into his meaſures. Thoſe who had been the moſt active in ſubjecting all corporations to the prerogative, were moſt apprehenſive of the effects of their own proſtitute endeavours; and indeed every ſtep taken by the government, led to ſorrowful reflections on paſt offences: for the example which the biſhops and clergy had ſet, of circulating the declarations ſet forth by the government after the diſſolution of the Oxford parliament, in which the utmoſt freedom had been taken with the authority of theſe aſſemblies, and the higheſt abuſe uttered againſt its members, was now remembered: and it was accordingly ordered by the king and council, that the declaration of indulgence ſhould be read in all churches and chapels at the uſual time of divine ſervice; and that the biſhops ſhould cauſe it to be diſtributed throughout their dioceſes to be read accordingly. It is to be acknowledged, that a very material difference exiſted Ann. 1688. Second declaration for a general toleration.

Ann. 1688. between the former and the preſent caſe: the abuſe contained in the late king's declaration, was entirely agreeable to the party prejudices of the church, and James's declaration for an unlimited indulgence to tender conſciences, ſtrongly againſt them. A determination to diſobey prevailed: the ſpiritual guides of the people who had formerly boaſted much of their political utility in confining their flocks within the trammels of arbitrary power, were now to figure as the champions of their laws, and the authority of their parliaments; and in order to encourage them in this pious reſolution, the ſix following prelates, Lloyde, biſhop of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Briſtol, &c. met privately with the primate; and after having implored the divine aſſiſtance by extraordinary prayer, they agreed upon ſending up a petition to the king, in which they repreſented, that though poſſeſſed of the higheſt ſenſe of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given ſuch eminent teſtimonies, though deſirous of affording eaſe in a legal way to all proteſtant diſſenters; yet becauſe the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not in prudence, honour, or conſcience, ſo far make themſelves parties, as the diſtributing it all over the kingdom, and the ſolemn publication of it even in God's houſe, and in the time of divine ſervice, muſt amount to in common and reaſonable conſtruction. As the epiſcopal order had for a conſiderable length of time placed the ſum of all religious and moral virtue in implicit obedience to the perſonal authority of the king, it was undoubtedly a difficult matter to find a plauſible pretence to ſet a gloſs on the inconſiſtency of their conduct with their precept,

Nine biſhops remonſtrate againſt the order of reading it in the churches.

precept, and they ſeemed ſo well aware of this, that the petition was delivered to the king in private; yet as it contained a poſitive refuſal to obey his commands, he regarded it as an inſult which he was bound by the dignity of his office to puniſh. The biſhops, after being told that ſuch a conduct was not expected from the church of England, were ſummoned before the council, and there aſked, whether they would acknowledge their petition? The reverend fathers at firſt declined anſwering; but being hard puſhed by the chancellor, they at length acknowledged themſelves the authors of the compoſition which had given his majeſty ſuch diſpleaſure. On their refuſal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower, and the crown lawyers received directions to enter a proſecution againſt them for having compoſed and uttered a ſeditious libel. Ann. 1688. Biſhops committed to the Tower.

THERE cannot be a ſtronger mark of that deep-rooted prejudice which the doctrines of paſſive obedience had fixed in the minds of James and his party, and the entire dependence they had in the ſincerity of its profeſſors, than the boldneſs of a ſtep which muſt naturally excite the reſentment of a people who had ſhewn ſuch ample teſtimonies of a blind devotion to the intereſts and power of the church. Jeffries, who had hitherto been the foremoſt in all the violent councils of this and the preceding reign, remonſtrated againſt the meaſure as impolitic and dangerous, and the anxiety and attention with which the public waited the iſſue of this buſineſs ſtruck a terror in the minds of the moſt determined of the king's ſervants. Directions were given that the reverend fathers ſhould be carried by water, in order to prevent

Ann. 1688. prevent the emotions which a ſight of their humiliations in a paſſage through the city might occaſion; but this caution was needleſs, for the inflamed populace ruſhed in innumerable crowds to the river to wait for their arrival: the banks were covered on both ſides, and the rooms, and even the roofs of all the adjoining houſes, were filled with eager ſpectators: a ſhout of acclamation, which reſounded from one end of the town to the other, was ſet up by the multitude, when the biſhops were diſcovered at a diſtance. This was immediately followed by a deluge of tears, fervent prayers were offered up to heaven for their deliverance, as they approached the ground was ſtrewed with the proteſtant bodies of pious devotees, whilſt others, yet more inflamed with zeal, ran up to the chin into the water to receive their bleſſing. The contagion caught even the ſoldiers, who threw themſelves on their knees to their priſoners, nor could Daniel in the lion's den excite more terror and compaſſion in the breaſts of the devout Jews, than a lodgment in the Tower for a few weeks excited in the minds of a people, who had beheld often with the eye of indifference thoſe cruel executions which ſully the page of hiſtory during the laſt reign, and in the beginning of the preſent, and who but a few months before had beheld without any extraordinary emotion the rigorous ſcourging of Samuel Johnſon, an honeſt but zealous divine of the church of England, who had been given up by his brethren to the reſentment of the court, which had been drawn on him for a publication, entitled, "an humble and hearty addreſs to all the Engliſh proteſtants in the army, in which they are intreated not to make themſelves the tools of the papiſts, to enſlave their country and ſubvert their religion." Such are

the effects of imagination over the human heart, that rancour and ſympathy, indifference and paſſion, take their alternate riſe from the mere phantoms of the brain, without being in any meaſure rationally regulated by the nature of circumſtances, or the complexion of facts. The behaviour of the biſhops was equally calculated to correſpond with their public profeſſions, and at the ſame time to enflame the ſympathy of the multitude. They diſtributed to all around them their bleſſings without reſerve; they augmented the general favour by the moſt lowly ſubmiſſive deportment; they exhorted the people to fear God, honour the king, and to maintain their loyalty; and no ſooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower, than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for thoſe afflictions which heaven in defence of its holy cauſe had thought them worthy to endure. Ann. 1688.

Trial and acquittal of the biſhops.

The triumph of the church over prerogative, the idol to which they had taught the multitude to bow, was yet more ſplendid on the day of their trial, than in their paſſage to the Tower. Twenty-nine peers, the far greater number of which were of the high Tory faction, and had been highly inſtrumental in exalting the power of the crown, and fixing James on the throne, with a great number of commoners and divines of inferior rank, attended the biſhops to Weſtminſter-hall; and the populace who aſſembled in expectation of the event, was more numerous than had ever been ſeen on any occaſion. On the ſide of government appeared Powis, the attorney-general, Williams, the late great patriot ſpeaker, who now acted in the capacity of ſolicitor-general, Shower, the recorder of London, and Baldock and Trinder,

Ann. 1688. Trinder, who appeared in the capacity of ſerjeants; whilſt the cauſe of the defendants were ſupported by the two flaming loyaliſts, Sawyer and Finch, who had exerted all their law abilities to procure the death of the illuſtrious ſufferers in the late reign, Pollexfen, who had acted as king's counſel in Jeffries' campaign, Treby, more conſpicuous for the baſeneſs of his conduct at lord Ruſſel's trial, than for his former oppoſition to the crown, and Somers, a Whig of an unſullied character.

THE crime charged againſt the biſhops was the framing and publiſhing a ſeditious, falſe, and malicious libel againſt the king's prerogative and government, under the pretence of preſenting a petition to their ſovereign. They are not proſecuted, ſays the attorney-general, as biſhops, much leſs for any point or matter of religion, but as ſubjects of the realm, and only for a temporal crime, as thoſe who have injured and affronted the king to his face; they are not proſecuted for omitting to do any thing, but as they are actors for cenſuring his majeſty and his adminiſtration, and for giving their opinions in matters wholly relating to law and government. Theſe aſſertions, properly ſupported with obſervations often repeated in the laſt reign, and which would have been more than ſufficient to have determined the judgment of an abhorring jury, was anſwered by the counſel for the biſhops with the following arguments. That the law allowed ſubjects, if they thought themſelves aggrieved in any particular, to addreſs themſelves to the king, provided they kept within certain bounds, which the ſame law preſcribed to them, and which in the preſent petition the biſhops had rigidly obſerved; that an active obedience

obedience in cases which were contrary to conscience was never pretended to be due to government, and law was allowed to be the great measure of the compliance and submissions of subjects; that when any person found commands imposed upon him which he could not in conscience obey, it was more respectful to offer to the prince his reasons for refusal, than to remain in an obstinate and refractory silence; that it was no breach of duty in subjects, even though not expressly called upon, to discover their sense of public measures, in which every one had an intimate concern; that the bishops in the present case were called upon, and must either express their approbation by compliance, or their disapprobation by petition; that it could be no sedition to deny the prerogative of suspending laws, because in reality there was no such prerogative, nor ever could be in a legal and limited government; that even, if this prerogative was real, it had frequently been disputed before the whole nation, both in Westminster-hall, and in the two houses of parliament; and no one had ever dreamed that the denial of it was criminal: as peers, the bishops had a right to give counsel to the king; as prelates, it was their duty to attend to that religion which was committed to their care; that instead of making an appeal to the people, they had applied in private to his majesty, and had even delivered their petition so secretly, that except, by the confession extorted from them before the council, it was found impossible to prove them the authors; and that though the petition was afterwards printed aud dispersed, it was not so much as attempted to be proved that they had the least knowledge of the publication. Ann. 1688.

Ann. 1688. It cannot ſlip the obſervation of the judicious reader, that ſeveral of the arguments alledged by the biſhops counſel, and in particular that which reſpects the right of petitioning, had been condemned by the church party in the laſt reign as inſolent pretenſions leading to ſedition, and totally inconſiſtent with the ſacred prerogatives of monarchy, and that freedom of judgment which every ſovereign ought to have in the management of ſtate affairs; and that a ſubject, or ſubjects, had no more right to direct his prince in matters of public concern, than one individual had to adviſe and direct another in the ordering his private affairs. The advantage which this circumſtance gave, with the paſt conduct of the priſoners at the bar, of their counſel, and of the faction at large, was not miſſed by the crown lawyers, and much altercation paſſed between the contending parties, to the great amuſement undoubtedly of every unbiaſſed ſpectator, if ſuch could be found among the numerous crowds who waited the iſſue of the trial. Williams declared in the face of the court, that the very arguments uſed by Sawyer had been formerly uſed by him, and overruled by Sawyer himſelf, when attorney-general: he charged Finch with not agreeing with himſelf, and the being a very different man, in 1678, than he was in 1688; he complained of the hard treatment he had met with in his own caſe, and he told the biſhop of Peterborough, that either himſelf or ſome of his tribe had preached againſt him.

Though the bench had been purged twice in this reign, and one Alybone, a papiſt, was exalted to the ſeat of judicature, yet the influence of the church proved too ſtrong for the influence of the crown. Two of the judges, Hallo-

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way and Powell, declared themſelves in favour of the priſoners, and determined the queſtion of the diſpenſing power againſt the king. Such was the wonderful reformation which the ſpirit of party had produced, that even the courts of law, in which prerogative had for ſeveral years paſt ſat enthroned with a ſuperiority which held at defiance the dictates of reaſon, conſtitution, or precedent, now proved the ſanctuary for freedom; and the people were inſtructed by the ſages of the law to confine their obedience to God's vicegerent within the limits of human policy, and the wiſdom of the conſtitution. Ann. 1688.

No cauſe, even during the proſecution of the popiſh plot, had ever excited ſo highly the popular attention as the trial of theſe prelates; nor indeed was any cauſe more calculated to work on the minds of the multitude, who though hardened againſt the dictates of religion, are always capable of being worked up into an enthuſiaſtic fury on any ſuppoſed invaſion of its ſacred rights. The Whigs had been loud and clamorous for the preſervation of the conſtitution; but like all other matters of public concern, the impreſſions which aroſe from national grievances, had neither been laſting or extenſive. If the late king had eaten of the ſhew-bread like David, he had been made to do penance, and when the church was appeaſed, what cauſe had ſinful laymen to complain; but when another Saul aroſe, who ſhould preſume to ſet the prieſts at defiance, and deprive their party of perſonal power, what diſappointed courtier might not with ſafety enter into the liſts of oppoſition! Among this number we find that immaculate patriot, the marquis of Hallifax, who having ſtood forth the mighty champion for hereditary right, and driven the poor Whigs before him like chaff before the

Ann. 1688. winds, or rather like ſheep to the ſlaughter; and now finding his mighty ſervices unpaid, and that he could keep his ſtanding in the cabinet no longer, headed the liſt of the loyal peers who attended the biſhops to the place of trial, and with honeſt Burnet, who, to do him juſtice, had always acted a conſiſtent part, condeſcended to turn pamphlet-writer, and inflamed and ſupported the ſpirit of oppoſition, by putting the worſt colours on the politics of the court, and by well-turned and keen invectives againſt the abſurd meaſures of government. To ſo high a pitch had the arts of the party raiſed the public commotion, that the biſhops were alarmed at the conſequences, and as they made their way through the crowd, diſpenſing their bleſſings around them, they added their admonitions, that they would fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. In this exalted ſtate of the paſſions, the multitude were kept for eleven whole hours, for the jury were thus long before they could agree in their verdict, Not Guilty, which words were no ſooner pronounced, than they were echoed with ſhouts through the hall. Theſe were anſwered with others from the multitude in the palace-yard, were communicated in an inſtant to the different parts of the town, and continued from village to village, till they reached the camp on Hounſlow Heath, which was immediately ſeized with the ſympathetic tranſport. The king, who had retired into lord Feverſham's camp, after reviewing the troops, aſked the cauſe of the uproar: lord Feverſham anſwered, that it was nothing but the joy of the ſoldiers for the diſcharge of the biſhops. Nothing, replied the king, with an indignant air, do you call that nothing? But it ſhall be ſo much the worſe for them: he returned immediately to London, and iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the populace to aſſemble in the ſtreets, a prohibition which undoubtedly

undoubtedly added warmth to their zeal, and the city was lighted up by bonfires and illuminations. Some perſons were tried for diſorders committed in the evening; but the juries acquitted them, though often ſent back by the judges to reconſider their verdict. Ann. 1688.

To make the beſt uſe of the victory the church had gained, the archbiſhop ſent a paper to the ſeveral biſhops of his province, with certain inſtructions, tending to inculcate the doctrines of legal and limited obedience, with recommendations to maintain a fair correſpondence, full of the kindeſt reſpects of all ſorts, with the gentry and perſons of quality in their neighbourhood, as being deeply ſenſible what ſeaſonable aſſiſtance and countenance the poor church had received from them in her neceſſities, with advice to the clergy, that they ſhould walk with wiſdom towards thoſe who were not of their communion, and when ſuch ſhould be found in their pariſhes, that they ſhould not neglect to confer with them in the ſpirit of meekneſs, ſeeking, by all good ways and means, to gain and win them over to orthodox communion; more eſpecially that they ſhould have a very tender regard to their brethren, the proteſtant diſſenters; that when occaſion offered, they ſhould viſit them in their houſes, receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly whenever they met them, endeavouring to perſuade them to a full compliance with the church, or at leaſt, that in thoſe things in which they were agreed, they might walk by the ſame rule; and in order thereunto, that the clergy ſhould take all opportunities of convincing the diſſenters, that the biſhops of the church were really and ſincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, ſuperſtitions,

Ann. 1688. ſuperſtitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealouſies which had been entertained of them on that head, were altogether groundleſs; and in the laſt place, that they ſhould warmly and moſt affectionately exhort them to join in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace, for an univerſal bleſſed union of all the reformed churches, both at home and abroad, againſt the common enemy.

THOUGH the folly of individuals is often found incapable of improving proſperity, or of availing themſelves of that experience which adverſity brings to the human mind; yet the conduct of bodies of men are commonly corrected by affliction. That malevolent pertinacity with which the church had adhered to ceremonies, regarded as totally indifferent, merely to keep the door ſhut againſt the diſſenters, was very judiciouſly laid aſide: ſchemes calculated to amuſe the preſbyterians with the hopes that their ſcruples in review of the liturgy would be attended to, and relieved by the authority of the convocation and parliament, were propoſed, and with ſuch a good effect, that according to archdeacon Echard, in this time of common danger, the more moderate diſſenters became converts to the merits and ſufferings of the church, and ſhewed an univerſal readineſs to come in.

HAD the church always conducted herſelf on the ſame principles of meekneſs and moderation, which ſhe affected in this hour of her diſtreſs, the common enemy could never have triumphed at the expence of the proteſtant

teſtant intereſt. She had, however, the good fortune to get the ſtart of James, in the adopting prudent meaſures; and whilſt ſhe was wiſely endeavouring to ſoften the reſentment of the nonconformiſts by conciliating ſteps, this infatuated monarch was every day encreaſing the number of his enemies, and expoſing the weakneſs of his power to the whole nation. Immediately after the trial of the biſhops, Powell and Halloway were ſtruck off the liſt of judges, and the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion iſſued an order for returning the names of all thoſe clergymen who had refuſed to read the king's declaration of indulgence. Theſe were indeed ſuch impotent marks of revenge and obſtinacy, that Sprat, biſhop of Rocheſter, a prelate equally remarkable for cowardice as for ſervility, put in for his ſhare of popularity, by refuſing to act any longer in the commiſſion: the citations were in general diſobeyed, and on the few returns that were made, the court did not think proper to proceed, and from this period they met no more. Ann. 1688.

A FEW days before the acquittal of the biſhops, an event happened, which had its conſequences been properly attended to, and properly managed, would have over-balanced all the mortification which the king had received on that occaſion. The queen, who had been for ſome years in a weak ſtate of health, and ſubject to miſcarriages, received ſo much benefit from the uſe of the Bath-waters as to bring forth a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. Such a bleſſing was not only impatiently longed for by the king and queen, but by all the zealous papiſts at home and abroad; it gave a ſtability to their power, The queen delivered of a ſon.

Ann. 1688. power, which excluded any plea of neceſſity for thoſe raſh and haſty meaſures which had already begun to make the king totter on his throne, and had it been conſidered in this light, and proper means had been taken to ſoften the reſentment of the church, and to reſtore the confidence of the people, the papiſts might, in proceſs of time, have compaſſed the point of a full and general toleration, and have enjoyed, with the reſt of the ſubjects, at leaſt an equal ſhare of the honours and privileges of the ſtate. If we can give any credit to the greater number of writers who have treated of theſe times, ſuch was the good ſenſe and judgment of the party in general, that even before this favourable event had happened, they cenſured thoſe raſh and intereſted counſels, by which the welfare and ſecurity of the body was ſacrificed to the turbulent ſpirit of the jeſuits, and the ambitious views of a few grandees; and it is ſaid that the pope himſelf, who did not approve of the king's favour and predilection to the jeſuits, adviſed his majeſty to more moderate meaſures, and to be content with the obtaining a full toleration for the exerciſe of the catholic religion. But ſuch are the deluſions of the imagination, and ſo great its power over the reaſoning faculties of man, that the ſoundeſt principles in religion and morality, are as apt to miſlead the judgment as the falſeſt, when ſeen through the medium of an erroneous fancy. The belief of a ſpecial interpoſition in human affairs is mixed with almoſt every ſyſtem of human faith: hence proceeds that ſuperſtitious attention to ſigns and omens, which in all ages of the world has influenced the conduct of man; and yet we are never ſo liable to be fatally deceived, as when

when we attempt to read the counſels of the Higheſt, by certain unexpected incidents which appear apt to our views and wiſhes, and more particularly, if they have been the object of our prayers and petitions, becauſe we regard it as a token of eſpecial grace and favour; and that our conduct and deſires meet with the approbation of divine wiſdom, though it often happens, that the granted boon is the circumſtance intended to accelerate our deſtruction, and to promote purpoſes diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which our blindneſs and folly have ſuggeſted. A legitimate heir to the crown of the popiſh faith, was ſo naturally an object of deſire to the papiſts, that vows were offered at every ſhrine for a male ſucceſſor, pilgrimages were undertaken, and in particular, one to Loretto, by the ducheſs of Modena, and the deſired bleſſing was chiefly attributed to that pious journey. The king, the queen, and all the bigotted catholics with whom they conſulted, were more than ever convinced that all the hoſt of heaven intereſted themſelves in the reſtoration of the catholic religion in England; and it filled them with a confidence little ſhort of madneſs. The flattering addreſſes alſo which came in from every quarter, helped to keep up the ſpirit of preſumption: thus the king, inſtead of taking the advantage of this circumſtance, to get rid of the unpopular trial of the biſhops by an act of grace on the occaſion, continued his hoſtilities on the church, and to render his authority contemptible in the eyes of the multitude by vain exertions of prerogative, which he had neither power nor authority to enforce. Ann. 1688.

Ann. 1688. In proportion as the event of the queen's delivery was agreeable to the papiſts, it encreaſed the diſguſt of the proteſtants, by depriving them of the proſpect of a proteſtant ſucceſſion in the perſons of the two princeſſes and their heirs. It was this hope only which had kept the church party within any bounds of patience, and even the diſſenters grew more apprehenſive of the conſequences of their complacency to government, in the ſtability which the papiſts, by the birth of a prince, had acquired to their power. Inflammatory ſpeeches and publications were not wanting to increaſe the fears and provoke the reſentment of all parties: an old calumny vented in the year 1682, and which was afterwards dropped, becauſe the infant proved a female, was again revived with ſucceſs; and though every care was taken to aſcertain the important fact of a male heir, even to the ſhock of common delicacy both mental and bodily, yet the king, who was remarkably indulgent and fond of his children, was accuſed with the deſign of depriving them of their rights by an impoſture; and this calumny, the moſt groundleſs that ever was broached on the public, either from that credulity which is inſeparable to party, or from motives of policy, met with univerſal countenance.

Affairs of Ireland. All that the proteſtants feared in England from the growing power of the papiſts, was abſolutely experienced in Ireland. Tyrconnel had carried over with him as chancellor, one Fitton, a man who had been taken from a jail, who had been convicted of forgery and other crimes; but who had compenſated for his enormities, by an outrageous zeal for the popiſh religion, and a profeſſed abhorrence

rence of proteſtants whom he had been heard to brand, Ann. 1688.
even whilſt he was ſitting on the ſeat of juſtice, with the epithet of rogues, and that there was not one among forty thouſand, who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain. Under Fitton, as maſters in chancery, were placed Stafford, a popiſh prieſt, and O'Neil, whoſe father was infamous for being one of the moſt active murderers in the maſſacre of 1641; and theſe appointments were ſoon followed by ſubſtituting Nagle, the popiſh lawyer, as attorney-general, in the place of Sir William Domville, a proteſtant, eminently diſtinguiſhed for his loyalty and his abilities. Rice, a noted gameſter, who had publicly declared vengeance againſt the act of ſettlement, was made lord chief baron of the Exchequer; Nugent, whoſe father had been engaged in the rebellion of 1641, lord chief juſtice of the king's bench, whilſt only three proteſtants were ſuffered to continue on the bench of juſtice, Worth and Kealing, whoſe implicit obedience could be relied on, and Lyndon, a man of meanneſs and inſignificance, and who was rendered in a manner neceſſarily dependent by the adverſe circumſtances of his fortune. With this eſtabliſhment of the papiſts at the council-table, the courts of judicature, and the bench of judges, a more general reform of the Iriſh army took place; and as the admiſſion of papiſts into the ſeveral corporations had proceeded ſlowly during the adminiſtration of the earl of Clarendon, a more compendious method was taken to inveſt the party with a power which ſhould make them maſters of the parliament. Tyrconnel addreſſed himſelf to the city of Dublin, and without aſſigning any plauſible pretence, recommended to them to reſign their charter to the ſovereign. The conſequences which

Ann. 1688. followed the ſurrender of charters to the late king, were too ſeverely felt to expect a voluntary ſubmiſſion of this kind: the city heſitated to obey, Tyrconnel threatened, the recorder was diſpatched to Whitehall, and was introduced to the king by the duke of Ormond, whoſe conduct in England, on a ſimilar occaſion, is too memorable to be forgotten; but he was not ſo fortunate in the preſerving national liberty as he had been in the deſtroying it. The petition of the city of Dublin, ſetting forth their loyalty and ſervices, and imploring the continuance of their charter, was rejected with diſdain; a quo warranto was immediately iſſued, and judgment pronounced for the king; other corporations were diſſolved by the ſame procedure, within the ſhort courſe of two terms, whilſt in ſeveral inſtances, a new charter was granted to ſuch men as the attorney-general approved. Theſe were put in poſſeſſion of the corporation by a popiſh ſheriff, and the former poſſeſſors either left to bring their action before popiſh judges, or in a more compendious manner they were impriſoned for their diſobedience; and in order to complete the new corporations, ſuch a number of the moſt ſcandalous and barbarous of the Iriſh were admitted, that in one northern city, a man was made chief magiſtrate who had been condemned to the gallows.

An attempt on the college of Dublin, ſimilar to that which had been made on the Oxford univerſity, ſo alarmed the collegiates, that they reſolved, with the conſent of their viſitors, to convert moſt of their plate into money for the erecting new buildings, and the purchaſing new lands. The conſent of the earl of Clarendon had been obtained

obtained for tranſporting the plate duty free into England as to a better market; but Tyrconnel, arriving in the mean time, ſeized it in the port of Dublin, and depoſited it in the king's ſtores. Tyrconnel, by the advice of Nagle, gave up this point; but he ſtopped the penſion annually paid to the univerſity from the Exchequer, which at this time made the moſt conſiderable part of their ſubſiſtence. Ann. 1688.

It has been already obſerved, that the popiſh party in England were divided into two factions, one of which were for violent, and the other for moderate counſels: the latter of theſe exclaimed againſt the conduct of Tyrconnel, and were for putting the earl of Caſtlemain into the office of deputy. Lord Bellaſis declared, that the folly and madneſs of Tyrconnel were ſufficient to ruin ten kingdoms; and the alarming decreaſe of the Iriſh revenue, owing to the ſtagnation of trade, gave ſuch credit to a remonſtrance of the party, that to avert the impending ſtorm, Tyrconnel obtained permiſſion to attend the king whilſt in his progreſs at Cheſter, and with the help of Rice, he prevailed ſo far over the deluded judgment of this monarch, by plauſible repreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland, that he was remitted with honour to his government, and in order to render it ſufficiently brilliant to ſilence the voice of his adverſaries, he formed a ſcheme for calling a parliament, in order to reverſe the act of ſettlement, to put the papiſts into poſſeſſion of half the lands, and to remit the other half into the hands of the ſovereign, to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure. Rice and Nugent were commiſſioned to lay this ſcheme before the Engliſh counſel; but it met with ſo much

Ann. 1688. much oppoſition from the majority, that James was obliged for the preſent to ſuſpend any reſolutions on the ſubject. The ſatisfaction which this temporary ſuſpenſion gave the proteſtants, was ſoon allayed by the birth of a prince, and the triumph of their enemies, whoſe joy was ſo unbounded and expreſſed with ſuch ſenſeleſs inſolence and outrage, that the lord mayor of Dublin committed the officers of Chriſt-church to priſon, becauſe their bells did not ring merrily enough on ſo joyful an occaſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

State of parties.—Character of the prince of Orange.—Political views of the prince of Orange.—Prince of Orange ſolicited by James on the ſubject of the repeal of the teſt.—Prince of Orange refuſes to concur in the repeal of the teſt.—An emiſſary of the prince of Orange ſent over into England on the pretence of a public negociation.—His intrigues and ſucceſs.—Prince of Orange's preparations towards an invaſion.—Movements on the continent.—James receives advice of the intended invaſion from France, with offers of aſſiſtance.—Singularity of the earl of Sunderland's conduct.—Sunderland's influence over James's mind.—Lewis threatens the Dutch with ill conſequences to James.—James is made acquainted with the full extent of his danger.—Endeavours in vain to conciliate the affections of his people.—James's attempt to aſcertain the legitimacy of the prince's birth.

WHILST every motive civil and religious concurred Ann. 1688.
to alienate from the king all ranks and denominations of men, except the papiſts, who were very inconſiderable in their numbers, it might have been expected that the ſprings of government would have been obſtructed in a manner as to ſtop their motion; and that the power of the crown, naturally reduced by a general ſpirit of diſobedience, the king would have been neceſſitated to have come to any terms, and to have accepted the continuance of the adminiſtration under any limitations which the intereſt of the hierarchy, the jealous ſpirit of liberty, or the prudent policy of the true lovers of their country, might have induced the

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Ann. 1688. ſubjects to have impoſed. Such muſt undoubtedly have been the caſe between James and his people, had any degree of wiſdom prevailed among the multitude, or had not the ſpirit of party ſo divided the nation, and excited in the minds of men ſuch an inveterate rancour, that the apprehenſions which prevailed of popery and arbitrary power, were hardly equal to the dread which each faction entertained of affording a triumph to its adverſary. The church party had aſſerted the doctrine of paſſive obedience with ſuch an extravagant vehemence, and had ſo ſtiffly maintained the advantage of arbitrary monarchy over every other form of government, that it would have been difficult for them totally to have eradicated the impreſſions which they had made on the weak minds of their followers, and they were alſo aſhamed to acknowledge the errors of their judgment, or the fallacy of their conduct by ſuch a retraction of former ſentiment, as would have been the lending their aſſiſtance to mould the government into a freer form. The Whigs and the diſſenters, although at this time courted by James, were afraid of being ſacrificed to the domineering ſpirit of the church, whenever this prince ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of forming a junction of intereſts with them, and they knew that all the civil rights of the nation would be freely yielded by this body, provided, that the king could be brought to give up his ſchemes in favour of the papiſts, and to put the adminiſtration of the government into their hands, and the hands of their friends. In this unhappy ſituation of affairs, it was natural that the eyes of all parties ſhould be turned on the prince of Orange, whoſe conſort, the lady Mary, was the next heir to the crown, and a proteſtant, and who was himſelf adorned with the noble character of having been the preſerver of his own country, the

State of parties.

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head of the proteſtant intereſt in Chriſtendom, and the aſ- Ann. 1688.
ſerter of the liberties of Europe, in oppoſition to that power which was regarded as the hereditary enemy of England. All thoſe Whigs, whoſe policy was not deep enough to fathom the prince of Orange's ambition, and that ſtrong love of power which lay concealed under the veil of moderation, with the inconvenience of a foreign ſucceſſion, had early turned their eyes towards Holland, had ſecretly kept up a correſpondence with the prince, and had regarded him as the favourite of heaven, deſtined to diſpenſe its greateſt bleſſing, liberty, to mankind. Several of the Tories, arguing on a principle of true philoſophy, truſted more to the paſſions than the virtue of human nature; they knew that very few individuals even in the happieſt ages of men had been found proof againſt the love of power; and they knew that they could eaſily bring over the prince to their party, by an adherence to thoſe high principles in government which they were determined to maintain; but the large majority of this party vainly hoped that the prince would, at the hazard of his perſon and his fortune, exert his power and authority to correct the extreme abuſes of James's government, without other reward than the ſatisfaction which ariſes from a juſt conduct, and the glory which attends magnanimous actions when crowned with ſucceſs.

Character of the prince of Orange.

THE peculiar talents and diſpoſition of the prince of Orange did not a little contribute to the falſe ideas which both Whig and Tory had entertained of his true character: he was ſo cloſe and reſerved in his manners, that even at that ſeaſon of life when truſt and confidence is at the higheſt, when the inexperience of youth prompts men to lay open every feeling of the heart, and every ſentiment of

Ann. 1688. the mind to human inſpection, he never had communcated what he thought he felt, or deſigned, to any man, unleſs ſuch a communication was neceſſary to the furtherance of his ſchemes or views: from his early youth he was ſo great a diſſembler as even to impoſe on De Wit, and conceal, under the guiſe of friendſhip and gratitude, a reſentment for what he regarded as the higheſt injuries. Whilſt ardent in his ambition, and ſteady in his purſuits of power, he was ſo much the maſter over the impetuoſity of inclination as to ſuppreſs every emotion of the ſoul which might lead to the diſcovery of his purpoſe, till the object he aimed at was within his reach; and, under the guiſe of an inordinate deſire for military glory, he happily concealed a paſſion yet more hoſtile to the repoſe of ſociety, the love of civil power and domination.

Such was the man whom fate had determined to be the opponent of a prince deſtitute of common ſagacity, and whoſe conduct in every part of his life had been oppoſite to the line of common prudence and caution. It muſt be acknowledged that the conteſt was very unequal, and that James's deſtruction was inevitably fixed from the moment that fortune had pitched on the prince of Orange as his rival in power, by his matrimonial alliance with the next heir to the throne.

Political views of the prince of Orange.

From the period that the prince of Orange was placed at the head of the Dutch government, in the character of Stadtholder, he had formed connexions with the malecontents both in Scotland and in England, and he had the good fortune to be ſerved with ſuch fidelity by his emiſſaries, that whilſt the ſecrets fatal to the life and fortune of

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veral Scotch and Engliſh conſpirators, were extorted from Carſtairs by the force of torture, he had the reſolution to withhold every intelligence which related to the intrigues carried on in both countries by the prince of Orange. Moſt writers have confined the prince of Orange's views at this period to the preſervation of his own country, and the humbling the pride and power of the French monarch by the influence of the Whig party, if they ſhould be ſucceſsful enough to force themſelves into the adminiſtration of Engliſh affairs: but it appears by the converſation between the prince and Sir William Temple, on the ſubject of a nearer alliance with the crown, by a marriage with the duke of York's eldeſt daughter, that the prince had formed very high perſonal expectations from the ſtrength and power of his friends in Great Britain. Sir William Temple eaſily convinced him that theſe expectations would acquire a more ſolid foundation by the propoſed marriage; and the prince followed the hints he received ſo ſteadily and fortunately, that he contrived to gain over half of the cabinet and council to his intereſt, by the correſpondence he had from his connexion an opportunity to maintain with the miniſtry. Among thoſe who were principally ſerviceable to him, in the career of ambition, were the famous earls of Danby and Sunderland; and it was as much owing to the party he had formed in the cabinet, as to the duke of York's influence, that the duke of Monmouth was ſo entirely diſcarded from the king his father's favour, as to be deprived of all his employments, and every ſhare in the adminiſtration. Ann. 1688.

The extraordinary part the prince of Orange took in the ſupport he gave to the excluſion-bill, and his endea-

Ann. 1688. vours to counteract every other ſcheme calculated to preſerve the laws, increaſe the liberty of the ſubject, and ſecure the poſſeſſion of the government to the duke of York, it muſt be acknowledged, has a ſtrong tincture of Machiavelian policy. James ſeemed much diſpoſed to treat him with affection and confidence before he became fully acquainted with his manœuvres; but from this period, diſtruſt and coldneſs took place of cordiality and friendſhip, and the prince much declined in the favour of Charles the Second, by that oppoſition of intereſt and inclination which led the one to connive at the ambition of Lewis, and the other to oppoſe the power and grandeur of a monarch, againſt whom he had long, both from perſonal and political conſiderations, conceived the moſt violent animoſity.

James on his acceſſion to the throne, though he had not in any reſpect changed his opinion of the conduct and views of the prince of Orange, yet he found it ſo much his intereſt to live on good terms with the man who had married the heir apparent of the crown, that he ſhewed the prince ſome demonſtrations of friendſhip. The prince on his part altered the tone of his former conduct, aſked pardon for the offences he had committed both againſt the deceaſed and preſent king, removed the duke of Monmouth from Holland, and diſplaced his adherents from the Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice. On Monmouth's invaſion, the prince, as was agreeable to his intereſt, immediately diſpatched over the ſix regiments of Britiſh troops in the Dutch ſervice, offered to take the command of the forces raiſed againſt the rebels, and, whilſt he ſecretly cheriſhed all the

Dalrymple's Appendix.

enemies

enemies of the king's government, he continued to cajole him with the higheſt expreſſions of duty and regard. Ann. 1688.

THE duke of Monmouth's raſh enterprize and unfortunate end, not only removed a dangerous rival from the prince of Orange, but by filling James and his friends with a preſumptuous opinion of their ſtrength and power, hurried this ill-fated monarch into thoſe acts of imprudence which induced all parties to unite in their addreſſes of invitation to the prince, to interfere in the management of Engliſh affairs; addreſſes which were attended with this ſingular circumſtance, that the church party who had been induſtrious for the laſt five years, in filling both the ſovereign and the people with the moſt extravagant notions of obedience to the civil power, were among the firſt to renounce thoſe maxims, and to implore the protection of a foreign ſtate, for ſupport in their oppoſition to their natural prince. Immediately after the attack on Magdalene college, ſeveral of the clergy and their high partizans made very preſſing application to the prince of Orange, that he would interpoſe and eſpouſe the concerns of the church; and that he would break upon it with the court of England, if the king ſhould refuſe to redreſs their grievances. So early as the year 1686, the lord Mordaunt preſſed the prince to an invaſion of England; but the prince was too conſummate a politician to hazard a ſure victory by a premature attack on a man who was every day undermining the foundations of his power, and only promiſed in general, that he ſhould have an eye on the affairs of England, and ſhould endeavour to put thoſe of Holland in ſo good a poſture, as to be ready to act

Ann. 1688. when it ſhould be neceſſary: he aſſured the party, that if the king ſhould go about either to change the eſtabliſhed religion, or to wrong the princeſs in her right, or to raiſe falſe plots to deſtroy his friends, he would try what he could poſſibly do.

Prince of Orange ſolicited by James on the ſubject of the repeal of the teſt act.

WHILST theſe negociations were carrying on, James, from his anxiety to give the papiſts a legal foundation for their new acquired privileges, gave the prince an opportunity of openly taking a part in the adminiſtration of Engliſh affairs. The lofty ideas he had entertained of his prerogative was not agreeable to any ſenſible papiſt, nor was it confided in by any but himſelf: they conſidered the edicts which had paſſed in their favour, as wanting much of the authority of laws, and that the continuance of them might in the end prove dangerous to themſelves and their patron. An act of parliament alone could inſure the indulgence which he had laboured to eſtabliſh, and they hoped that if the prince of Orange would declare in favour of that ſcheme, thoſe individuals who had hitherto reſiſted all the applications of their own ſovereign, would at length be prevailed with to adopt it. The king in the warmth of his bigotry had aſſerted, that he would either convert England, or die a martyr; and he had rather die the next day and convert it, than reign twenty years piouſly and happily, and not effect it: and to ſhew that he was ſincere in this extravagant ſentiment, he ſuffered his pride and ſenſe of regal dignity and importance ſo far to give way to the intereſts of the catholic cauſe, as earneſtly to ſolicit the conſent and the approbation of the prince and princeſs of Orange to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes on nonconformiſts, and of the teſt act: and in order to engage the ambition of the Stadtholder,

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ſtrong hopes were given that England would ſecond him in all Ann. 1688.
thoſe enterprizes which he was forming on the continent for the reduction of the power of France.

The repeated injuries and inſults which the emperor and the king of Spain had ſuffered from the inſolence of Lewis ever ſince the peace of Nimeguen, had inſpired them with the higheſt ſentiments of revenge: even the pope, who had eſpouſed the Auſtrian cauſe, had been treated with great inſolence by the French monarch, on the ſubject of certain franchiſes allowed to foreign ambaſſadors in the city of Rome; but which, on motives of civil policy, the pope was determined to diſpute. By the baniſhment of his uſeful ſubjects, Lewis had weakened the power of his empire, and had raiſed the indignation of all the proteſtant ſtates: the city of Amſterdam, and other towns in Holland, who conſidered the power of France as a neceſſary check on the dangerous ambition of their Stadtholder, and who had fallen into a kind of dependence on Lewis, being terrified with the accounts which they were daily receiving of the furious perſecutions againſt the Hugonots, had now dropped their domeſtic factions, and had entered into an entire confidence with the prince of Orange: the proteſtant princes of the empire had alſo formed a ſeparate league at Magdeburgh, for the defence of their religion.

The prince of Orange was too active a politician to let ſlip ſo favourable a conjuncture to weaken the power and mortify the pride of a man from whom he had received the ſevereſt inſults. By his intrigues and influence, a league was formed at Augſburgh, where the whole empire was united in its defence againſt the French monarch; Spain and Holland be-

Ann. 1688. came parties in the alliance, and Sweden and Denmark declared themſelves in favour of the general cauſe. Theſe numerous ſtates compoſed the greater part of Europe; yet ſuch was the terror which the ſucceſs of the French arms had impreſſed on the minds of men, that the league was ſtill deemed imperfect and unequal to its end, ſo long as England maintained that neutrality in which ſhe had hitherto perſevered. In theſe circumſtances of affairs, there could not be a more tempting offer than James had made to his ſon-in-law; but the prince of Orange had very weighty reaſons for declining what, in any other juncture, he would have embraced with the utmoſt eagerneſs, ſhould James be engaged in ſo popular a war as againſt the tyrant of Europe, and the rival of England: it might in a great meaſure ſoften the reſentment and the hatred which he had incurred from his ſubjects, who were exceedingly jealous of that apparent amity which had always ſubſiſted between him and Lewis; the buſtle and buſineſs of a foreign war would in all probability draw their attention from their intrigues againſt their ſovereign. The ſtates of Holland could find no pretence to invade a monarch, with whom they were engaged as confederates and allies; and were they ſo inclined, Spain, the emperor, and all the catholic princes, would have interfered in his favour; beſides, ſhould the prince of Orange join in the meaſure of procuring a legal eſtabliſhment to what was regarded by the malecontents as their greateſt grievance, he would loſe the hearts of his numerous partizans, and with theſe, the opportunity which the egregious indiſcretion of James gave him of mounting the throne of England before the ſucceſſion, by the courſe of nature, ſhould devolve to his wife. Theſe conſiderations were more than ſufficient

sufficient to determine the prince to a resolute denial of what was so earnestly desired on the part of the king. Pen the quaker, who was a great favourite of James, and who in all probability depended on the sincerity of this monarch's declarations in regard to an unlimited toleration in respect to religion, travelled to the Hague, in the hopes of convincing the prince that what the king required was reasonable, and ought to be granted on the principles of true religion and morality; but his rhetoric and arguments were urged in vain. The prince declared that he would go no farther than to promise his consent to the repeal of the penal statutes, by which the nonconformists as well as catholics were exposed to punishment; but the test he esteemed a security absolutely requisite for the catholic religion.

Ann. 1688. Prince of Orange refuses to concur in the repeal of the test.

No measure could be more political than such an answer; the church in their state of humiliation had declared themselves willing to assent to the repeal of the penal laws; and the nonconformists, though they impatiently desired to be relieved by law from their state of persecution, yet they were very unwilling to gratify the papists by a repeal of the test. The prince of Orange by this means secured the favour of both parties, and by merely promising what James in the present state of opinions could have procured without his assistance, he ran no risk of putting an amicable conclusion to the treaty, a circumstance equally dreaded by him and the malecontents.

James, instead of endeavouring by a timely retreat to get out of the political web into which he was ensnared, continued to increase the advantages of his rival. Stewart, a Scotch lawyer, who had been outlawed for

Ann. 1688. treaſonable practices, but who had received a pardon, and had been promoted, was directed to write ſeveral letters to penſionary Fagel, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance. Stewart, beſides urging all the motives moral, rational, and political for an unlimited toleration, deſired that his reaſons ſhould, in the king's name, be communicated to the prince and princeſs of Orange. This imprudent meaſure gave the prince an opportunity to lay the negociation open to the world: a letter was returned, and afterwards publiſhed, in which the following ſentiments were expreſſed in the name of the penſionary, and the prince and princeſs of Orange; that it was their fixed opinion, that no man, merely becauſe he differed from the eſtabliſhed faith, ſhould ever, whilſt he remained a peaceable ſubject, be expoſed to any puniſhment or even moleſtation; that the prince and princeſs of Orange gave heartily their conſent for repealing legally all the penal ſtatutes, as well thoſe enacted againſt the catholics as againſt nonconformiſts, and would concur with the king in any meaſure for that purpoſe; that the teſt was not to be conſidered as a penalty inflicted on the profeſſors of any religion, but as a ſecurity provided for the eſtabliſhed worſhip; that it was no puniſhment for men to be excluded from public offices, and to live peaceably on their own revenues or induſtry; that even in the United Provinces, which were ſo often cited as models of toleration, though all ſects were admitted, yet civil offices were only enjoyed by the profeſſors of the eſtabliſhed religion; that military commands indeed were ſometimes beſtowed on papiſts, but as they were conferred with great precaution, and ſtill lay under the controul of the magiſtrate, they could give no juſt reaſon for umbrage; and that their high-

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neſſes, however deſirous of gratifying the king, and of endeavouring by every means to render his reign peaceable and happy, yet they could not agree to any meaſure which would expoſe their religon to ſuch imminent danger. Ann. 1688.

VERY important were the advantages which the prince received on the publication of this letter: it expoſed to the eyes of all Europe James's blind partiality in favour of the popiſh religion; it confirmed the proteſtants of all denominations in their reſolution to oppoſe the encroachments of the catholics; and it conciliated the affections of the popiſh ſtates, who, though on civil motives, they were inclined to an alliance againſt France, yet felt a reluctance to enter into a confederacy with a party who had been repreſented as deſigning the ruin and extirpation of all the papiſts in Great Britain. James ſaw through the political views intended by the publication of this letter; he regarded it as a ſevere inſult, and his anger being raiſed in proportion as he had condeſcended in making the application, he took every opportunity to expreſs his diſpleaſure, both againſt the ſtadtholder and the united ſtates. He gave the Algerine pirates who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his harbours, and liberty to diſpoſe of their prizes; he revived ſome complaints of the Eaſt India company, with regard to the affair at Bantam; he required the ſix regiments in the Dutch ſervice to be ſent over; he began to put his navy in a formidable condition; and from all his movements, the Hollanders entertained an apprehenſion that he earneſtly ſought an occaſion to make war upon them.

Ann. 1688. The ſtates, by the influence of the prince of Orange, poſitively refuſed to return the ſix regiments; and, on the pretence of removing jealouſies between the two nations, Dyckvelt, an anceſtor of the earl of Holderneſſe, was ſent over in the character of an envoy to the Engliſh court: his inſtructions were drawn up by Burnet, who reſided at this time at the Hague, and who was deeply engaged in the plots which were carrying on in favour of a revolution. Burnet was well acquainted with the temper of parties, and the different prejudices which prevailed among the factions in England; the inſtructions were conſequently calculated to anſwer all the deſigns for which the embaſſy was intended. In the name of the ſtadtholder and the ſtates of Holland, he was publicly to remonſtrate with the king on his conduct both at home and abroad. To the church party he was to give aſſurances of the prince's favour, attention, and regard, and to proteſt that his education in Holland had no wiſe prejudiced him againſt epiſcopal government. The nonconformiſts he was to exhort not to be deceived by the fallacious careſſes of a popiſh court, but to wait patiently, till in the maturity of time, laws enacted by proteſtants ſhould give them that toleration which with ſo much reaſon they had claimed and demanded; and he was to promiſe an oblivion to all thoſe who had concurred in the illegal meaſures of the laſt and preſent reign. With this embaſſage ſeveral of the moſt violent preachers, who had been driven to take ſhelter in Holland from the tyranny of the former reign, were ſent over to England. Dyckvelt himſelf was a man of great abilities and intrigue, and he executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that from the period of his arrival in London, all orders of men caſt their eyes towards Holland, and in the perſon of the prince of Orange expected a deliverance from

An emiſſary of the prince of Orange ſent over into England, on the pretence of a public negociation.

His intrigues and ſucceſs.

from thoſe dangers with which they conceived their religion and liberty to be ſo nearly threatened. By the advice and deſire of Dyckvelt, a ſelect council was eſtabliſhed, of the ſame nature as that which had been ſo fatal to ſeveral illuſtrious individuals in the laſt reign; it conſiſted of the marquis of Hallifax, who, on motives of ambition, had taken ſo conſiderable a lead in the worſt meaſures of the worſt government, who had lent his aſſiſtance towards weakening the ſecurity of law, and the deſtruction of the beſt and the moſt virtuous men in the kingdom, and who had the honour to have had a chief hand in the bringing matters to ſuch a deſperate paſs; of the earl of Shrewſbury, a warm and honeſt man, who had been lately a convert from the popiſh religion; of the earl of Devonſhire, a ſteady Whig; of the earl of Danby, who had narrowly eſcaped the vengeance of patriotiſm for his conduct as a miniſter; of the earl of Nottingham, a bigotted Tory; of the lords Mordaunt and Lumley; of admiral Herbert, of admiral Ruſſel, of Henry Sidney, brother to the illuſtrious Algernon Sidney, and of the biſhop of London. Theſe men, ſays Burnet, were the perſons chiefly truſted, and upon the advices which were ſent over by them, the prince governed all his motions. They met often at the earl of Shrewſbury's, and there they concerted matters, and drew the declaration on which they adviſed the prince to engage. Ruſſel, who was couſin-german to the late unfortunate lord Ruſſel, paſſed frequently between England and Holland, and kept the communication open between the prince and the leaders of the malecontents. Henry Sidney, the profeſſed creature of the prince of Orange, under the pretence of drinking the Spa water, communicated to his patron every neceſſary piece of intelligence, and gave him Ann. 1688.

Ann. 1688. him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of an univerſal combination againſt the meaſures of the king; and lord Dumblaine, ſon to the earl of Danby, being maſter of a frigate, made frequent voyages to Holland, and carried from ſeveral of the nobility tenders of duty, and even conſiderable ſums of money to the prince.

EVEN in this advanced ſtate of the intrigue, there remained ſome reaſons which kept all parties in awe, and prevented them from breaking out into immediate acts of hoſtility. The Engliſh malecontents, and chiefly the Tories, and the high-church party, looked forward to the princeſs of Orange's ſucceſſion, and ſtill entertained hopes of obtaining, without the violation of their favourite maxim non-reſiſtance, a peaceable and ſafe redreſs of all their grievances: ſwayed by theſe conſiderations, and in all probability by the irreſiſtible influence of fear, the earl of Nottingham had withdrawn from the intrigue, the marquis of Hallifax had ſhewn the ſame diſpoſition, the lord Mordaunt had abated ſo much of his ſanguine expectations as to write a kind of deſponding letter to the prince, and the prince, whoſe ardour never overcame his prudence, was cautious of hazarding, by an invaſion, an inheritance which the laws inſured to his wife. The operation of theſe motives might have kept all parties within the bounds of peace till ſome accident of a very inviting, or a very provoking kind had operated to an oppoſite determination; but on the event of the prince of Wales's birth, the prince and the Engliſh malecontents were reduced to a ſtate of deſpair. There remained no alternative but to give up the point, or to ſupport their pretenſions in the way of arms; and, according to the frequent courſe of human affairs, the very event which

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the king had ſo long made the object of his moſt ardent prayers, and from which he expected the firm eſtabliſhment of his throne, and the permanent ſucceſs of the catholic cauſe, proved the immediate ruin and downfall both of himſelf and the papiſts. Ann. 1688.

As the church and Tories parties had been ſuch ſtrenuous aſſertors of the indefeaſible right of ſucceſſion, it was determined, from the moment that the queen's pregnancy was declared, to diſpute the legitimacy of the child, provided it ſhould prove a ſon; and ſo cloſely did the parties who were moſt intereſted in this event adhere to this policy, that the princeſs of Denmark, to avoid the inconvenience of being called upon as a witneſs in favour of her brother's natural right, would not be preſent at the birth; and ſome very extraordinary letters paſſed between her and the princeſs of Orange, on the ſubject of the queen's pregnancy and delivery, which it muſt be acknowledged do no credit to the integrity, the delicacy, or the filial piety of the correſpondents. Birch's Enquiry.

Upon Dyckvelt's departure, the prince of Orange had taken the advantage of the queen's having notified to him the death of her mother, the ducheſs of Modena, to ſend over count Zuleſtein, anceſtor to the earl of Rochford, with compliments of condolence; a perſon in all reſpects fitted to the purpoſe of intrigue, becauſe under the gay appearance of a man of pleaſure and a ſoldier, he concealed great talents for buſineſs. This nobleman was again ſent over, on the pretence of felicitating the king and queen, on the event of the prince of Wales's birth, but in reality to take meaſures Dalrymple's Appendix.

Ann. 1688. ſures with the malecontents on the ſubject of an invaſion. The prince had with great prudence inſiſted on a formal invitation from the leading men of the kingdom; but ſo ſeverely had the Whigs ſuffered for their alacrity in diſplaying the banners of freedom in the laſt and in the preſent reigns, ſo backward were they to engage in any hazardous undertaking with their old enemies the Tories, and ſo cautious was this party in taking any ſtep which tended to an open diſavowal of the principles of non-reſiſtance, that not above ſeven perſons of all the numerous malecontents, who had in a more private manner aſſured the prince of their concurrence in the intended enterprize, could be perſuaded to ſet their names to the formal invitation he required, or rather the aſſociation for joining him on his landing. The ſeven were, the earls of Devonſhire, Danby, and Shrewſbury, the lord Lumley, the biſhop of London, admiral Ruſſel, and Mr. Sidney. With this diſcouraging circumſtance, letters were received from the earl of Nottingham, the marquis of Hallifax, and ſeveral other conſiderable perſons adviſing delay, and to truſt to the caſual events of time for the vindication of the princeſs's and the nation's right: but the prince knew that the preſent opportunity, for many reaſons was, the moſt favourable which could be expected; that delays were dangerous, becauſe they gave time and opportunity to the king to enter into meaſures which might help to ſoften the reſentment of his people; that the Dutch might fall into factions, which would inevitably prevent the aſſiſtance he expected from his countrymen; and that James, by diſentangling himſelf from the fetters of France, and entering into the confederacy which was forming on the continent, might engage in his intereſt

thoſe powers who were now inclined to lend their aſſiſtance towards the ſucceſs of the prince's ſchemes. Conferences had been held with Caſtananga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, with the electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony, with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and with the whole houſe of Lunenburgh, in which it was agreed that theſe princes ſhould replace the troops employed againſt England, and ſhould protect the United Provinces during the abſence of the prince of Orange. The emperor had been cajoled into a hearty concurrence with the deſigns in hand, by an aſſurance from the prince, in a letter written with his own hand, that in his expedition into England he had no deſign to dethrone his father-in-law, or in any reſpect to injure the papiſts; and even the pope was ſo highly impoſed on, as to advance money for an attack as he thought againſt France, but which was uſed to annihilate the power of the papiſts in England, and to the deſtruction of one of the moſt zealous converts to the ſee of Rome. As the fortifications on the ſide of Brabant were in need of repairs, the prince procured from the ſtates a credit of four millions of gilders for that ſervice, payable by annual proportions in four years; but taking advantage of the flow of money into Holland, which attended the flight of the French refugees, he made uſe of the credit to raiſe all the fund in one year, after which he contrived, that difficulties ſhould be ſtarted in applying and proportioning the money to the fortreſſes. In the ſame way he diverted to his own uſe a ſecond fund equal in value, which had been deſtined by the ſtates for another purpoſe; and inſtead of collecting the revenues of the admiralty, which had been formerly done, he farmed them out, to eſtabliſh a new bottom of credit. On the pretence of the

Ann. 1688.

Prince of Orange's preparations towards an invaſion.

Dalrymple's Appendix.

Ann. 1688. war with the Algerines, he encreaſed the naval armament of Holland to above fifty ſhips, and as faſt as they were got ready, they were ſent out to different ſtations remote from England, with orders to remain there for ſome time, and then to return.

Movements on the continent.

THE king of France, menaced by the league of Augſburgh, had reſolved to ſtrike the firſt blow againſt the allies: accordingly he invaded Germany with a great army, and laid ſiege to Philipſburgh. The elector of Cologne, who was alſo biſhop of Liege and Munſter, and whoſe territories almoſt ſurrounded the United Provinces, died about this time, and the candidates for the ſucceſſion were, prince Clement of Bavaria, ſupported by the houſe of Auſtria, and the cardinal of Furſtemburgh, a prelate entirely dependent on France. The pope, who, on motives of ſecurity and reſentment, favoured the allies, was able to throw the balance between the parties, and prince Clement was choſen; but as the cardinal kept poſſeſſion of many of the fortreſſes, and had applied to France for ſuccour, it neceſſarily ſet the neighbouring territories in motion, and thus the preparations of the Dutch and their allies, ſeemed merely intended for their own defence againſt the enterprizes of the French monarch; but this favourable circumſtance, with all the artifices of the prince, could not long conceal a truth which the following neceſſary ſteps rendered too apparent. Numbers of tranſports were hired, and flat boats for diſembarkation were built, arms were prepared for vaſt bodies of foot, and ſaddles, bridles, and boots for cavalry, and magazines of hay were ſlung in ropes in the ſea-ports, to be ready for putting on board at a minute's warning. Great trains of artillery were gathered from the

the different towns, directions were given for engaging seven thouſand ſoldiers, and nine thouſand ſailors, as ſoon as the ſanction of the ſtates could be procured; and marſhal Schombergh, a German by birth, and a ſoldier of fortune, who had been a great favourite of the late prince of Orange, from the active part he had taken in the violent meaſures of that prince, who had been engaged in the ſervice of the late king, to ſupport by a military force his deſigns againſt the liberties of England, who had after long and faithful ſervices been driven from the courts of France and Portugal, on the account of religion, was invited over to aſſiſt the ſtadtholder in the intended enterprize. From theſe circumſtances, D'Avaux, the French envoy, had been able to trace the real purpoſes of the Dutch armament; Lewis conveyed the intelligence to James, and accompanied the information with the following important offer, that he was willing to join the French to the Engliſh fleet, to ſend over any number of troops which James ſhould think neceſſary for his ſecurity, to raiſe the ſiege of Philipſburgh, to march his army into the Netherlands, and thus to detain the Dutch forces for the ſecurity of their own country. Ann. 1688.

James receives advice of the intended invaſion from France, with offers of aſſiſtance.

It muſt be acknowledged, that in making theſe offers, Lewis had fulfilled all the engagements which were naturally connected to the negociations which had paſſed between him and the court of England, on the acceſſion of James to the throne; and in the circumſtances which this infatuated monarch had put himſelf into, every real friend to his cauſe would have adviſed the accepting them, and more eſpecially the expedient of creating a diviſion in the forces of his enemies by an attack upon Holland; conſequently, the popiſh

Ann. 1688. part of the council were very eager for the king's closing with Lewis's propoſals: nor was there any conſiderable oppoſition from any quarter, except from the earl of Sunderland, who ſuggeſted, that if a ſmall number of French troops were demanded, it would tend only to breed diſcontent, and afford the Engliſh army a pretence for mutiny; that a great body of auxiliaries might indeed ſecure the king both againſt an invaſion from Holland, and againſt the rebellion of his own ſubjects; but they would be able afterwards to reduce him to a total dependence, and render his authority entirely precarious; and that the propoſed invaſion of the Low Countries might be attended by the moſt dangerous conſequences, becauſe it would ſuffice to revive the old ſuſpicion of a combination againſt Holland and the proteſtant religion.

Such was the wonderful influence which Sunderland had gained over the mind of the king and his confeſſor, father Petre, and ſo entire was the confidence which they placed in his judgment and integrity, that theſe arguments, which in the king's dangerous circumſtances were hardly plauſible, prevailed. Lewis's propoſals were for the preſent rejected; and thus the king's ruin was effected, and the nation delivered from foreign and domeſtic yoke, by a treachery in conduct too groſs to be ſuſpected.

Singularity of the earl of Sunderland's conduct.

If we can ſuppoſe that the earl of Sunderland's conduct was ſyſtematically directed to the end of delivering Great Britain from the government of a weak, a popiſh, and a bigotted prince; if we can ſuppoſe, that after having been foiled by the church-party in the ſcheme of excluding James from the

the throne, he had entered into the ſervice of this monarch, with the ſingle view of miſguiding and betraying his counſels in order to undermine his power, we muſt conſider him as a Machiavelian of an extraordinary kind, i. e. that he purſued the attainment of a virtuous object by the moſt indirect and blackeſt means: but if we conſider him, as he certainly was, a rapacious profligate courtier, advancing his private fortunes by the favour of his maſter; if we conſider him as a penſioner of France, and very buſy and active in forming that cloſe connection of intereſt between the courts of France and England, which, had it been properly managed, might have effected all the purpoſes propoſed by the party in power, the motives of his actions become very myſterious or very complex, and his conduct more unintelligible than any character we have hitherto deſcribed. Ann. 1688.

In all probability, Sunderland had ſome regard to the principles of liberty; but he undoubtedly had yet more attention to his perſonal greatneſs, and to the affluence of his fortune. When he found he could not maintain his ſtation in the adminiſtration by the power of the Whigs, he devoted his ſervices to the prevalent faction, became active in reducing into practice their theory of politics, and ſecured the eſtabliſhment of his authority by the boldneſs of his counſels: thus we find him vindicating James in his extravagant endeavours to re-eſtabliſh popery in England; thus we find him aſſerting to Barillon, that, according to good ſenſe and right reaſon, his majeſty could have no other end but ſuch a re-eſtabliſhment; that without the reſtoration of this religion he could never be in ſafety; that ſuch endea- Dalrymple's Appendix.

Ann. 1688. vours would undoubtedly ſucceed by the ſtrict union and concert of the two crowns; and that it was the intereſt of the French monarch to give the king every aſſiſtance which it was in his power to afford: thus we find him, with the earl of Godolphin, even attending James to the door of his chapel; and thus we find him adviſing the eſtabliſhment of a ſelect council, for the management of the intereſts of popery, and either propoſing himſelf or acquieſcing in the violent meaſures which ended in alienating the affections of all thoſe who were the moſt devoted to monarchical government, and to the indefeaſible right of ſucceſſion.

The ſucceſs of theſe daring enterprizes was, however, too dangerous a bottom for ſo profound a politician as the earl of Sunderland to venture on it his life and fortune: he had therefore the caution to preſerve a perſonal intereſt with the duke of Monmouth and the prince of Orange. There is great reaſon to believe, that the ſecret of importance which the duke of Monmouth intimates in his letter to James, was a correſpondence which Sunderland had carried on with him; and it is certain that Sidney depended much on his uncle's treachery for the ſucceſs of the prince of Orange's views on the crown of England; it is certain that ſeveral warnings of the intended invaſion given by individuals, was treated with contempt by the earl of Sunderland, and kept a ſecret from the king; it is certain that it was a jealouſy of the treachery of his diſpoſition which prevented the prince of Orange and his party from truſting Sunderland with the ſchemes they were carrying on for a revolution; it is certain that lady Sunderland carried on a correſpondence with the prince and princeſs of Orange, and adviſed them to refuſe a com-

compliance with the king's demands on the ſubject of the teſt; it is certain that when the conſpiracy was firſt formed in Holland againſt James, that Sunderland ſent over the marquis D'Albeville, an Iriſh adventurer, as profligate as himſelf, in the character of envoy, who is ſuppoſed to have been bribed by the ſtadtholder, and it is certain that the frivolouſneſs of his diſpatches were calculated to keep up the deception of James and his court; it is certain that the king of France, and his miniſter Barillon, adviſed the bringing over the Iriſh army, and that James was prevented from taking this meaſure by the earl of Sunderland; it is certain that Sunderland got into his own hands the command of all the foreign correſpondence, by procuring an order from the king to the ambaſſadors in foreign parts, not to write diſpatches to the ordinary miniſters; it is certain that after the Revolution had taken place, he boaſted to king William the ſervices he had performed to the public, in advancing the purpoſes of his undertaking; and laſtly, it is certain that Sunderland duped both Barillon and the king, by his open defiance of the laws and conſtitution of the country, at the very time when all the miniſters began to ſeek ſhelter from the threatening ſtorm. It was at the time when it was generally believed by the king's party, that the prince of Orange's preparations were againſt England, that Sunderland in a public company declared, that he would ſend a troop of horſe to the houſe of lords, to influence their votes on the ſubject of the teſt; it was at this period, when he took the opportunity to avow himſelf publicly a papiſt; and it was at this period that he formally demanded the protection of the court of France, although he had previouſly reſolved to take refuge in the Dutch territories.

Ann. 1688.

Dalrymple's Appendix.

HAD

Ann. 1688. HAD James's abilities been equal to his opportunities of enſlaving the nation, there is little reaſon to doubt but that Sunderland's fidelity would have kept pace with his ſecurity and his intereſt; but he was too well acquainted with the defects of the king's judgment, and the judgment of his counſellors, to form any hopes of ſtability in that plenitude of power with which he ſeemed to be inveſted on his acceſſion to the throne: he had ſeen a profligate, corrupt, and ſenſeleſs parliament, who, with any degree of management, might have been eaſily brought to arm the crown with a kind of conſtitutional deſpotiſm, diſmiſſed in diſgrace, and the arbitrary ſchemes and pretenſions of the monarch left to the precarious ſupport of a power illegally exerted: he knew that the apprehenſions of popery in the church-party, and of ſlavery in the Whigs, had united theſe different factions in the principle of oppoſition; and were it probable that the king ſhould overcome his domeſtic and foreign enemies by the aſſiſtance of France, he knew that his own importance would neceſſarily decline with the independence of his maſter, and that James would be obliged to direct his conduct by counſellors of Lewis's appointment. The great favour which Sunderland had acquired by humouring James in all his extravagant deſigns, rendered his ſituation more deſirable than he could hope to obtain under a maſter of the prince of Orange's abilities and diſpoſition; and conſequently whilſt the king could preſerve an independent power, he would have kept firm to his intereſts: but, when by the infatuation of the popiſh counſels, matters were reduced to ſuch an extremity, that the aſſiſtance of France was neceſſary to keep the crown on the king's head, Sunderland grew fearful of the conſequences: his ruin was certain. if the king ſhould be

overcome

overcome, and the permanence of his greatneſs very precarious in the caſe of victory. When perſonal intereſt was no longer in queſtion, it is not improbable that public ſentiment might turn, and that next to the ſecurity of his perſon and fortune, the preſervation of his country might have ſome weight in determining Sunderland to thoſe acts of treachery and baſeneſs, which the language of party, as in the caſe of the duke of Albemarle, may dignify with the appellation of virtue, but which every honeſt mind muſt regard with ſcorn and indignation. Ann. 1688.

Sunderland's influence over James's mind.

Such was the wonderful influence which Sunderland had gained over the mind of James, that after the full intelligence conveyed by Lewis, he was enabled to ſuſpend his belief as to the certainty of the prince of Orange's deſigns on England, and even to perſuade him that no man of property would declare for him, ſhould he make the attempt. All the diſpatches of Barillon about this time, are full of the incredulity of James and his miniſter, on the ſubject of the intended invaſion; but Lewis, though his advice was neglected and his aſſiſtance refuſed, was yet unwilling to abandon a friend, whoſe intereſt he regarded as cloſely connected to his own. By the ſuggeſtions of Skelton, the king's envoy at Paris, orders were ſent to D'Avaux, to remonſtrate with the ſtates, in his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's name, againſt the preparations which they were making to invade England; and the ambaſſador declared, that the ſtrict amity which ſubſiſted between the two monarchs would induce Lewis to regard every attempt againſt his ally as an act of hoſtility againſt himſelf.

Lewis threatens the Dutch, with ill conſequences to James.

Ann. 1688. As James had positively declared to Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, to Citters, the Dutch envoy, and to other foreign ministers, that he had entered into no alliance with France, this remonstrance was considered as a great impeachment of his honour; and as the states affected to regard the avowed alliance between the two crowns, as of the same nature as the former meant for their destruction, and the extirpation of the protestant religion, it furnished them with a pretence for continuing their preparations, and laying the odium of the war on the king, who was highly displeased with the officious step which Lewis had taken for his service: he was not reduced he said, to the condition of the cardinal of Furstemburgh, and obliged to seek the protection of France. To shew the sincerity of his displeasure, James recalled Skelton, and threw him into the Tower: he solemnly disavowed D'Avaux's memorial, and as solemnly declared, that no treaties subsisted between him and Lewis, but what was public and known to all the world *.

Every attempt which the king made to clear himself from the aspersions of his enemies, was represented at the Hague as a part of the concert between the two crowns. It was reported in England, that a project was concerted with Lewis for the entire subjection of the kingdom; Portsmouth, it was said, was to be put into the hands of France, England was to be filled with French and

* It is certain that no formal treaty did subsist between Lewis and the king of England, but a treaty of commerce; but it is as certain that the reciprocal obligations which passed between the two monarchs was, as to its consequences, in all respects, equal to the most formal treaty.

Irish

Iriſh troops, and every man who was not willing to embrace the Romiſh ſuperſtition, was to be devoted to ſudden deſtruction. Ann. 1688.

These ſuggeſtions calculated to inflame the general diſcontent, was every where ſpread abroad, and had ſuch an effect both on the navy and the army, that the fleet had began to mutiny, becauſe Strickland, the admiral, a Roman catholic, had introduced the maſs aboard his ſhip, and had diſmiſſed the proteſtant chaplain. After much difficulty it was appeaſed; but the ſailors ſtill perſiſted in declaring, that though they would willingly engage againſt the national enemy the French, they would not fight againſt their friends and brethren, the Dutch. In order to ſound the inclinations of the army, a band of Iriſh recruits were introduced into the duke of Berwick's regiment, the natural ſon of James, by the counteſs of Dorcheſter. Beaumont, the lieutenant-general, refuſed to admit them; and to this oppoſition, five captains ſteadily adhered: they were all caſhiered, and had not the diſcontents of the whole army become very apparent, it was reſolved to have tried and puniſhed them for mutiny.

In the midſt of that diſmay which theſe terrifying ſymptoms of diſaffection occaſioned, James receive a letter from the marquis of Albeville, his miniſter at the Hague, which informed him that he was ſoon to look for a powerful invaſion from Holland, and that penſionary Fagel had at laſt acknowledged, that the ſcope

Ann. 1688. James made acquainted with the full extent of his danger, endeavours in vain to conciliate the affections of his people.

of all the Dutch preparations was to tranſport forces into England. The great unwillingneſs of the human mind to believe what is painful and diſagreeable, and more particularly the arts of Sunderland, had hitherto kept the king in ſuſpence, between hope and fear; and the certainty of that dangerous ſituation into which he had involved himſelf, affected him equally as if it had been a piece of intelligence which he had little reaſon to expect: he turned pale and ſtood motionleſs, the letter dropped from his hand, all the deluſions with which he had hitherto flattered himſelf vaniſhed in an inſtant, and left his mind a prey to the ſentiments of timidity and deſpair. In this ſtate of terror and anxiety, the king had recourſe to his old friends the Epiſcopalians: he invited the members of this faction to reſume their ſeats in council; and when the earls of Nottingham and Clarendon refuſed on the reaſon, that they would not mix with popiſh counſellors, he had the complaiſance to diſmiſs theſe from their attendance; he took off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion; and he invited the biſhops who were in town to confer with him on the ſtate of affairs. Theſe reverend fathers, who had no other quarrel with the king but the humiliating condition to which he had reduced the church, chearfully obeyed the ſummons, and they preſented the following plan of advice for the ſettlement of the nation: that the government of the counties ſhould be put into the hands of proteſtants, to annul the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, to reſtore the preſident of Magdalene college, to grant no diſpenſations in church or ſtate, to inhibit the four vicars apoſtolical, to fill the eccleſiaſtical vacancies, to ſtop the proſecution of Quo Warrantos, and

to

to reſtore to corporations their ancient rights, to call a parliament, and to permit the biſhops to lay before him ſuch arguments as might reſtore him to the communion of the church of England. Ann. 1688.

JAMES having heard that the reſtoring the charters was to be one of the articles in the biſhop's plan of advice, before the plan of advice was preſented, returned the charter to the city of London by the hands of Jeffreys, who had been the chief inſtrument and adviſer in that oppreſſive meaſure. The other articles were complied with as faſt as the times, and the forms of office, would allow. When parties are formed, and plans of intereſt projected, it is not poſſible to divert men's inclination from the objects of preſent purſuit; the new friendſhip of the biſhops with the king brought reſentment on them, without reconciling the affection of any number of individuals to the ſovereign. The diſſenters, with juſtice, complained, that their intereſts had not been at all mentioned in the plan of advice; the partizans of the prince of Orange exclaimed, that they were betrayed by ſuch of the biſhops who were aſſociated with them; the whigs, that the church was always willing to give up the cauſe of the people if her own intereſt was ſecured; and many, even of the warm epiſcopalians, ſaid, that the credulity of the biſhops would ruin the preſent hopeful proſpect of affairs.

James attempts to aſcertain the legitimacy of the prince's birth.

AMONG all the reports which had been propagated in order to accompliſh the ſcheme of a revolution, that of a ſuppoſititious child had been the moſt greedily received; becauſe, an oppoſition on theſe grounds was leſs repugnant to that part of the tory creed, which regarded the indefeaſible right of ſuc-

Ann. 1688. ſucceſſion: in this critical ſituation of affairs, therefore, the undeceiving the people on this point was of the utmoſt importance: The privy-council, the nobility, the biſhops, the magiſtracy of the city, the judges, and many other orders and perſons, were aſſembled in the council-chamber, where the king made the following ſpeech: "I have "called you together upon a very extraordinary occaſion; "but extraordinary diſeaſes muſt have extraordinary re- "medies. The malicious endeavours of my enemies have "ſo poiſoned the minds of my ſubjects, that by the reports "which I have from all hands, I have reaſon to believe that "many do think this ſon, which God has bleſſed me with, "to be none of mine, but a ſuppoſititious child; but I may "ſay, that, by a particular providence, ſcarce any prince was "born where there were ſo many perſons preſent. I have "taken this time to have the matter heard and examined; "expecting, that the prince of Orange, with the firſt eaſterly "wind, will come and invade this kingdom: and, therefore, "I thought it neceſſary to have it now done to ſatisfy the "minds of my ſubjects, and to prevent this kingdom from "being engaged in blood and confuſion after my deceaſe."

The king now called upon the ſeveral perſons who had been preſent at the queen's delivery to declare what they knew concerning it. The queen-dowager gave the firſt teſtimony, and was followed by forty witneſſes, all perſons of rank, and many of them of moſt unqueſtioned credit, who gave the fulleſt evidence in favour of the legitimacy of the birth. Their depoſitions were ordered to be recorded in chancery, but to very little purpoſe: all parties continued to avow their diſbelief; and they made merry with the mortifying neceſſity to which the king was reduced, and urged his anxiety to aſcer-

tain the birth as an additional argument to call the fact in queſtion. Ann. 1688.

Whilst James was thus employed in meaſures to avert the threatened ſtorm, even to the paying court to the Dutch, and offering to enter into any alliance with them for the ſecurity of Europe, he did not neglect the proper preparations for the defence of his crown and kingdom; he increaſed his army and his navy, the one to forty-thouſand men, and the other to ſixty-one ſhips. Commiſſions were iſſued for raiſing bodies of men to thoſe perſons who offered their ſervices; the militia were ordered to be embodied; three thouſand men were brought to Cheſter from Ireland, and the ſame number to Carliſle from Scotland. Strickland, the papiſt, was removed from his ſtation in the fleet, and the command given to lord Dartmouth, a faithful ſervant to James, and who, of all the naval officers, had acquired the higheſt degree of popularity among the ſeamen.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Preparations in Holland for an embarkation.—Anxiety of the Engliſh.—The Dutch fleet ſet ſail for England. Diſperſed by a ſtorm.—Exultation of the king.—The Dutch fleet again ſet ſail.—Prince of Orange lands at Torbay.—Prince of Orange joined by the Weſtern nobility and gentry.—Aſſociation.—Meaſures taken by the prince to increaſe his party.—The biſhops refuſe to teſtify their abhorrence to the prince's undertaking and deſigns.—Deſertion of the Military.—Petition for a parliament. Petition rejected by the king.—The king joins his army.—Deſertion of lord Churchill and other conſiderable officers.—Ill ſtate of the king's affairs.—The king returns to London.—Princeſs Anne flies the palace.—The king ſummons the aſſembly of peers.—Writs iſſued for a parliament.—Commiſſioners appointed to treat with the prince.—Meaſures of the popular Party to intimidate the king.—Alarming intelligencies.—Affairs of Scotland.—The queen retires with the prince of Wales to France.—The king leaves his palace.—Outrages of the mob.—King's army diſbanded.—General conſternation.—The peers form themſelves into a council for the management of public affairs.—Declaration and addreſſes in favour of the prince of Orange.—The king taken at Feverſham, whilſt endeavouring to effect his eſcape.—Returns to London.—Dutch guards take poſſeſſion of the palace.—The king required to remove to Ham.—The king obtains permiſſion to retire to Rocheſter.—The king takes refuge in France.—Obſervations on the king's character and conduct.

Ann. 1688. THE ſurpriſing facility with which the ſtates entered into meaſures, which, if they miſcarried, muſt have involved them in the greateſt danger, if not ruin, on the hope only of attaching England to her intereſt by a change of

of government, is hardly to be accounted for but by thoſe general influences by which men of the moſt oppoſite tempers and views are made to corrreſpond to predetermined events. Biſhop Burnet, who was at the Hague when the prince of Orange carried matters ſo triumphantly in the Dutch councils, expreſſes it as a circumſtance beyond the moſt ſanguine hopes of the party; and endeavours to account for it by a variety of inducing cauſes, which, however, ſeem hardly adequate to the conduct of riſking the ſafety of the commonwealth to the uncertainty of wind and ſea, the fluctuating paſſions of party, and the natural inconſtancy of man. It is true, that the perſecution of the French Hugonots had raiſed a ſtrong reſentment againſt the papiſts in general, but zeal for religion has little to do with plans of modern policy; and whatever might be the deſigns of the court of England, nothing more than an unlimited toleration was ever talked on, or even whiſpered by the party. It is true, that penſionary Fagel, in the year 1687, declared, that an alliance ſubſiſted between the French and Engliſh monarchs for the deſtruction of the Dutch commonwealth; yet no one fact was produced to ſupport the aſſertion; and the Dutch, of all people, are the leaſt inclined to act by imaginary fears and imaginary hopes. Ann. 1688.

Some authors have endeavoured to account for the prince of Orange's ſucceſs, by attributing it to the zeal of his friends and the envy of his enemies; and that the Louveſtein faction forwarded the expedition in the view, that if it ſucceeded, the promotion of the ſtadtholder to the throne of England would remove him from the ſeat of the Dutch government; and the contrary would be attended by his perſonal deſtruction, and the ruin of his popularity. In this reaſon-

Ann. 1688. ing there is, I think, more refinement than ſolidity: there are few people who exerciſe their malice by concurring to the advancement of an adverſary; and the running ſo great a riſk in the hope of cruſhing him, ſavours more of the Italian fire than the Dutch phlegm; and, in all probability, the Louveſtein faction acted in this point from neceſſity rather than from choice, and were unable to oppoſe the zeal of the populace, which had been artfully worked up to a pitch of enthuſiaſm, altogether as irreſiſtible as that which had prevailed in the year 1672*.

Preparations in Holland for an embarkation.

It was not till the beginning of October that the German auxiliaries joined the Dutch camp on the Rhine, for the protection of Holland; and the intelligence was no ſooner received than a general rendezvous of all the troops deſtined for the expedition was appointed, and matters were prepared with diligence for the embarkation; this was prevented for near three weeks by a track of ſouth-weſt winds. During which period, we are told, that all conditions of men in England, ſtopping their ordinary occupations, employed themſelves during the day in enquiring for news, and in looking from their windows and doors at the weather-cocks and ſteeples to ſee which way the wind blew: others roſe, during the night, to gratify their curioſity, and ſpent whole hours in the ſtreets in prayers for an eaſt wind, which was named by the church party, the Proteſtant wind.

Anxiety of the Engliſh.

* In ſpeaking of the vote which had paſſed to lend the prince the four millions of gilders, raiſed for the repair of fortifications, Burnet ſays, that Fagel had ſent for all the eminent miniſters of the chief towns in Holland; and as he had a vehemence, as well as a tenderneſs in ſpeaking, he convinced them evidently, that both their religion and their country were in ſuch imminent danger, that nothing but this expedition could ſave them.

THE wind at length changed to a favourable quarter, the north-east; and the prince of Orange, after having taken leave of the ſtates in a formal ſpeech, in which he recommended the princeſs to their care, and in which he ſolemnly averred, that ſince he had been entruſted with the affairs of their commonwealth, he had never entertained a wiſh which was contrary to its intereſt, joined his fleet and army at Helvoetſluys. The fleet conſiſted of ſixty-five ſhips of war, of ſeventy veſſels of burthen to attend them, and of five hundred tranſports. The army was compoſed of five thouſand cavalry, and eleven thouſand infantry, of the beſt troops of the republic, with three hundred French officers, who were proteſtant refugees; twenty thouſand ſtands of arms were prepared for the inſurgents in England; every Dutch town was ſtripped of its artillery, and only twelve ſhips of war were left to defend the commonwealth. Ann. 1688.

THE fleet weighed anchor on the 19th of October: it was divided into three ſquadrons, on board of which were troops of different nations: under the red flag ſailed the Engliſh and Scots, commanded by general M'Kye; under the white, the prince's guard, and the Brandenburghers, by count Solmes; and under the blue, the Dutch, with the French Proteſtant refugees, by the count of Naſſau. Herbert, who is repreſented by Burnet, as a man highly diſagreeable to the prince, on account of his haughty and unmanageable diſpoſition, was of too much conſequence to be oppoſed or thwarted, he accordingly led the van; Evertſoen, a Dutch admiral, brought up the rear; and the prince of Orange placed himſelf in the centre, his ſhip carrying the flag of England, and his own arms, with this motto, "I "will maintain the proteſtant religion and the liberties of "Eng- The Dutch fleet ſet ſail for England.

Ann. 1688. "England." A few hours after the fleet was at ſea, the wind turned to the ſouth, and carried it along the coaſt of Holland ſome leagues to the north, ſo that it continued half a day in the full ſight of Scheveling, a village cloſe adjoining to the Hague; to which, ſays Dalrymple, all the inhabitants of this town repaired to behold it, ſome flattered with the grandeur of their republic, whilſt others reflected with anxiety that their frontier on the one ſide was in the hands of their ancient tyrants, and on the other expoſed to an army of foreign mercenaries; all the artillery of their towns carried off; their harbours empty of ſhips; and the whole ſtrength of the republic ſent, during the rigours of winter, to depend upon the hazards of wind and ſea, and the fortune of war.

Dutch fleet diſperſed by a ſtorm.

WHILST the ſanguine, the zealous, and the deſponding were thus indulging their different diſpoſitions, an event happened which ſuſpended the exultations of the preſumptuous, increaſed the apprehenſions of the timid, and produced a general conſternation in all. During the night the wind changed to the north-weſt, and a dreadful tempeſt ſucceeding, in two hours the whole fleet was diſperſed; and in this ſituation, after having been toſſed for near forty hours in the ocean, ſome ſhips took refuge in the different ports of Holland and Zealand, and others caſt anchor wherever they could hope for a temporary relief, in places where there was no ports to protect them. The prince re-entered Helveot with only four ſhips of war and three tranſports; and in a few days after, the reſt of the fleet, in a very ſhattered condition, began to re-aſſemble from their different retreats. Nine hundred horſes had been caſt overboard to ſave the reſt, but no ſhips were miſſing, except one tranſport, which was driven on the coaſt of England, and taken. This accident, inſtead of depreſſing

the ſpirit of the Dutch, ſerved only to add freſh vigour to their counſels: immediate orders were given to reinforce the armament, and to repair the damages ſuſtained by the ſtorm; and theſe orders, through the indefatigable induſtry and activity of the prince, were obeyed with ſuch diſpatch, that in eleven days the fleet was ready to ſail. Ann. 1688.

REPORTS are always increaſed by diſtance; and the paſſions of hope and fear equally act in the exaggerating the objects of imagination. It was at firſt believed in England that the whole armament was loſt, and in order to lull the king into a ſecurity which might induce him to become dilatory in his preparations, and ſuſpend the preſent popularity of his meaſures, the Dutch Gazettes, by private orders from the ſtates, aggravated the damage, and gave reaſon to believe that the expedition was deferred till ſpring. James fell into the ſnare: he had ordered the hoſt to be elevated forty days for his protection, and receiving the news on a convivial hour, he ſaid merrily, "What has the wind at laſt declared itſelf a papiſt?" and then aſſuming a more ſerious and a more devout air, he obſerved that it was not to be wondered at, for the hoſt had been expoſed for ſeveral days. Such fond preſumption, on any apparent favourable incident, is too common to the ſanguine temper of man to merit any particular reflection; but James's enemies aver that he was ſo unwiſe as to expoſe his inſincerity, by countermanding the orders he had given for reſtoring the preſident and members of Magdalene College. The ſpirits of the Engliſh malecontents were depreſſed in proportion to the elevation of their monarch. On the report that the expedition was laid aſide, the cautious, who had concealed their ſentiments, prepared to ſubmit patiently to all the grievances of the yoke they dreaded; and thoſe who with more vivacity and

Exultation of the king.

Ann. 1687. and reſolution had expoſed their inclinations to the jealous eye of power, gave up their lives and fortunes as loſt, and in ſilent anguiſh paſſively waited the hour of their ruin.

The Dutch fleet again ſet ſail.

It was not long that the king and his people were kept in a ſtate of uncertainty as to the fate of the Dutch fleet. The prince again ſet ſail on the firſt of November with a deſign to land in the North, according to the preſſing invitation of the earl of Danby, who was highly ambitious that the prince ſhould owe his firſt ſucceſs to him, and who had, with a very artful activity, prepared the northern inhabitants to riſe and join him at his firſt landing. The wind, however, continuing full in the eaſt, and the courſe to the northward thus rendered very difficult, if not impracticable, a ſignal was given to ſteer weſtward, but not till all the advice packet-boats which watched the fleet had diſappeared; that by miſleading the king in point of intelligence, he might give an erroneous direction to the forces prepared for his defence. The ſame wind which proved favourable to the prince's landing in the weſt, detained the king's fleet in the river, and enabled the Dutch to paſs the ſtreights of Dover without moleſtation. During ſeven hours this formidable armament, which formed a line of twenty miles in extent, continued paſſing in the view of both the Gallic and the Engliſh ſhores, which were covered with innumerable ſpectators, who, whilſt they admired the grandeur of the ſpectacle, poured forth their prayers or imprecations on the invaders, according as different intereſts or paſſions prompted.

It was intended that the fleet ſhould land at Torbay, but the prince's pilot miſreckoned, and, during the night, ſailed paſt the two ports of Torbay and Dartmouth; the next port

was Plymouth, where the prince was not ſure of a reception, and which, by its ſituation, muſt have engaged the invaders in a long winter's campaign; and were the fleet to tack about in order to make Torbay, there was reaſon to be apprehenſive that it would be attacked by lord Dartmouth, who, by the change of wind, was now under ſail. The diſcovery of this accident threw Ruſſel in ſuch diſorder, that he told Burnet that all was loſt; but whilſt the minds of the invaders were in this cruel ſtate of perplexity, the wind changed to the ſouth, carried the prince in four hours into Torbay, and then, turning to the weſt, forced lord Dartmouth back to his ſtation. As ſoon as the landing was made good, the whole fleet and army, according to the advice of Carſtairs, was made to join in a thankſgiving prayer to God for the interpoſition of his providence; and the prince, whoſe uſual phlegm had for a ſhort time given way to an extraordinary effuſion of ſpirits, ſhaking Burnet heartily by the hand, aſked him if he would not now believe in predeſtination. Men are at all times ready to acquieſce in the ſpecial direction of a divine Providence, whenever ſuch a direction appears to favour their views, their wiſhes, their intereſt, or the gratification of their paſſions, and as ready to exclude it whenever they are thwarted: thus James, whoſe misfortunes were not ſo much brought upon him by his vices, as his adherence to principle, might be eaſily led into the deluſion that Providence was arming the winds in his favour when the prince was driven back on the Dutch coaſt; and the truth indeed is, that all incidents, either in the natural or moral world, concur to produce predetermined events; but whether a flattering incident will lead to an event favourable to the perſonal intereſts or wiſhes of a ſupplicating individual, can only be determined by the final iſſue of a conteſt or purſuit; and even when the event is obtained

Anno 1688.

Prince of Orange lands at Torbay.

Ann. 1688. tained, an uncertainty will yet remain whether it may prove a curſe or a bleſſing, i. e. whether its conſequences will lead to pleaſure or pain, to triumph or diſgrace, to the encouragement of our virtue, or the exalting our vices; a reflection which ought to abate the inſolence of ſucceſs, and that exceſſive depreſſion which uſually attends diſappointment.

Fortune, who commonly beſtows her bleſſings in a manner as to make men ſenſible of their dependent and precarious ſtate, did not exempt her favourite from the taſte of mortification; and the career of the prince's ſucceſs was, for a ſhort time, interrupted by thoſe impreſſions which Jeffries's cruelty had made on the inhabitants in the Weſt; few joined the Dutch army in their march to Exeter, and ſir William Courtenay, a great partizan of the Whig faction, in whoſe houſe the prince lodged, gave no countenance to the enterprize, either in his own name, or the name of his tenants. The mayor of the city of Exeter apprehended captain Hicks, who had been ſent forward to ſound the inclinations of the inhabitants; and when the prince entered with his army, for the town was incapable of defence, Lamplugh, the biſhop, fled to the king, and was immediately promoted to the vacant archbiſhoprick of York; his clergy could not be prevailed on to attend a ſermon preached in the cathedral by Burnet; and the diſſenters refuſed the keys of their meeting houſe to Ferguſon.

These diſappointments, which were more ſeverely felt on the reaſon of the ſanguine hopes which had been conceived by the repreſentations which had been made at the Hague, determined the prince to fix his reſidence for ſome time at Exeter, and thereto wait the effects which the promiſes of his friends ſhould

ſhould produce. After continuing a whole week with no better proſpect than when he arrived, it is reported that he was on the point of departure, when major Barrington firſt, and then ſeveral other noblemen and gentlemen of Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire, joined him. With theſe came Sir Edward Seymour, who was diſtinguiſhed for the large penſion he had received from the crown, during the time he held the office of ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; and by Andrew Marvel, for his conduct in that important truſt, but who, though a high prerogative man, had, on perſonal conſiderations, been for ſome time diſguſted with the court. Ann. 1688. Prince of Orange joined by the weſtern nobility and gentry.

The example thus ſet by men who were known to be very wary and conſiderate in their meaſures, gave ſuch a general encouragement, that all began to act with reſolution the ſeveral parts which had been aſſigned; and the prince's quarters were crowded with ſuch numbers of gentry from all parts of England, that the earl of Devonſhire told ſome, who had refuſed to ſign the firſt aſſociation, that there was now no need of their aid: but Sir Edward Seymour, with a deeper ſagacity, drew up an aſſociation for the defence of the prince's perſon, and the laws, liberties, and religion of the ſubjects of Great Britain; with a promiſe never to depart from the cauſe till theſe eſſentials ſhould be ſecured in a free parliament. This was to prevent retracting or temporizing; and as it was drawn up in a manner to give no offence to thoſe who did not intend more than a reformation of grievances, it was ſigned by all, even by that party who refuſed to take the oaths to the prince of Orange when ſeated on the throne. Aſſociation.

In the manifeſto diſperſed in England previous to the prince's embarkation, after an enumeration of all the griev-

Ann. 1688. ances ſuſtained by the nations under the adminiſtration of James, it is aſſerted that the prince of Orange had been ſolicited to interpoſe in favour of the liberties of the conſtitution by many of the peers, both ſpiritual and temporal, and by every other order of men, even by thoſe who were known to be the moſt attached to the crown; that the princeſſes rights, which were in danger from the attempt to impoſe a ſuppoſititious heir on the people, made it his duty to comply with their deſires; and that he had undertaken his preſent expedition with no other view than to procure a free parliament to be aſſembled, which might remedy grievances, enquire into the birth of the prince of Wales, and ſecure national religion and liberty under a juſt and legal government.

Meaſures taken by the prince to encreaſe his party.

WHILST this declaration was diſperſing, James had removed moſt of the grievances it enumerated: a ſupplement was now publiſhed, where the repeal of unpopular meaſures was repreſented as a confeſſion of guilt, and a conſciouſneſs of preſent danger. The nation, it was ſaid, might ſee what faith was due to future promiſes from the regard which had been ſhewn to the paſt; and that a general declaration of the rights of the ſubjects in full parliament, not particular and temporary acts of grace yielded, or rather extorted, by circumſtances, was the only means to ſecure the eſtabliſhment of theſe rights.

WITH this manifeſto was publiſhed a letter from the prince to the army; another from Herbert to the ſeamen; and a tract compoſed by Burnet in defence of the lawfulneſs of the expedition.

THE

THE prince's letter endeavoured to rouſe the reſentment of the military on the ill-treatment of their fellow proteſtant ſoldiers in Ireland, and the intruſion of Iriſh papiſts into the Engliſh army; to pique their honour on the conſideration that the preſervation or deſtruction of liberty in a great meaſure depended on their conduct; and to engage their avarice and ambition with a promiſe of military rewards to thoſe who ſhould join him. Ann. 1688.

HERBERT's letter had much the ſame tendency as that of the prince's; and Burnet's tract, by an inveſtigation of principles, and deduction of conſequences, was deſigned to operate as an antidote againſt the venom of the late doctrine of paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, and indefeaſible right. Theſe papers, in imitation of the prince's manifeſto, averred that the prince had been invited over by a great number of officers of the army and fleet; and as they were evidently calculated to create jealouſy in the king of his own party, and in his party of one another, James ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and deſired him to aſſemble the fraternity, and to draw up a paper which ſhould teſtify their abhorrence of the prince of Orange's deſigns; and when the archbiſhop excuſed himſelf on account of the ſmall number of biſhops who were then in town, the king ſent for five who yet remained in the capital, and renewed the deſire he had expreſſed to the archbiſhop, but in vain. The biſhop of London had actually ſigned his name to the invitation; and Spratt, the biſhop of Rocheſter, was too fearful of being called to account for his activity on the ſubject of the Rye-houſe plot, and in the having acted in the character of high commiſſioner to engage in the high-flown politics of the laſt reign. Abhorrences were now no longer the certain road

The biſhops refuſe to teſtify their abhorrence to the prince's undertaking and deſigns.

Ann. 1688. to preferment, and martyrdom was not the point of ambition to which the pious biſhop aſpired. When the biſhop of London was ſhewn that part of the declaration which related to his order, and was aſked if it was true, he returned the following ambiguous anſwer: "I am confident "the reſt of the biſhops will as readily anſwer in the nega-"tive as myſelf." The biſhop of Peterborough ſaid, that if his majeſty would publiſh the diſavowal of the biſhops, it would be the ſame thing as if they did it themſelves; here he was interrupted by the king, who inſiſted that a few lines from the brethren themſelves would do better. It was now ſuggeſted by one of the order, that as ſeveral of the lay lords were alſo named in the declaration, there ſhould be a meeting of the lords ſpiritual and temporal then in town, for the purpoſe of deliberating on ſo delicate a buſineſs. This, ſays the king, will take up too much time; I muſt inſiſt that you will manifeſt to the public your abhorrence of the prince's cauſe. Thus preſſed and driven from all their evaſions, the biſhops at laſt ſheltered themſelves under a character which they, for good reaſons, had found expedient to lay aſide, when they ſounded the trumpet of faction in the laſt reign: "We are, ſays they, the meſſengers of peace, not the denouncers of war." On this the king left them abruptly, ſaying, if you will do nothing towards relieving me from my diſtreſſed ſituation, I muſt truſt to my own arms.

FROM the Scotch prelacy, whom it muſt be ſuppoſed was more ſincere than their brethren in England on the doctrines of divine and indefeaſible right, the king met with more docility: they publiſhed a declaration, in which they prayed that Providence might give the king the hearts of his ſubjects, and the necks of his enemies; a conduct which gave riſe

riſe to the following ſingular remark of the biſhop of Ro- Ann. 1688.
cheſter, in which temporiſing on the ſubject of religious obligations is recommended as laudable policy. "The Scotch biſhops," ſays he, "ſacrificed epiſcopacy in Scotland by "their adherence to indefeaſible right, and the Engliſh bi- "ſhops preſerved epiſcopacy in England by renouncing it."

As it was impoſſible to prevent the ſpreading of the prince of Orange's manifeſto, it was at length publiſhed by authority; with ſeveral remarks and obſervations, which tended to ſhew, that perſonal ambition was the ſole motive which had induced the prince to violate the law of nations and nature in the invaſion of England, and his attack on a prince, in whoſe perſon was united the ſacred characters of uncle and father. Many ſpecious things were likewiſe ſaid to invalidate the charges brought againſt the king's adminiſtration, to magnify the merit of his conceſſions, and to repreſent the nation as in a ſtate of ſecurity as to their laws and liberty. All the grievances enumerated in the prince's manifeſto, were repreſented as having taken place from the counſels which prevailed in the laſt reign. It was urged, that the long parliament was actually diſſolved, by virtue of the triennial bill, nine months before the repeal of this bill was thought on; and yet, though this illegal aſſembly continued to act as a parliament, ſuch an irregularity, which was beyond any treſpaſs committed by his preſent majeſty, was never thought a good reaſon for a war. It was urged, that in the preceding reign, the charters were firſt reſumed, and thoſe who entered on violent courſes for their reſtoration, were proceeded againſt as traitors; that the late duke of Monmouth had made this circumſtance a clauſe in his declaration; and that a parliament choſen by garbled corporations

Ann. 1688. had voted him a traitor. After this ſtate of the caſe, it is ſhrewdly aſked, Whether the blood of Monmouth, and all thoſe who ſuffered with him, lay upon ſuch of the nobility and gentry of the church of England as were concerned in the bringing them to execution; or, whether, that which was held criminal in them, or the Presbyterian plotters before them, could be held excuſable in the preſent undertaking; more eſpecially, as it brought with it the additional quiet of making the nation a prey to foreigners, with whom, in neither of the former caſes, not even in the long civil wars, it had been viſited before? In the anſwer which was publiſhed to theſe remarks, it is aſſerted, that to argue, or even ſuppoſe, that the prince of Orange aſpired to the crown, was to be eſteemed a very unjuſt calumny caſt upon ſo great a prince, ſince he had ſo often made ſuch high and ſolemn proteſtations to the contrary. But however the church party, from whoſe influence the preſent revolution of political opinion had taken place in the minds of the public, felt ſo ſeverely the keenneſs of the reflections contained in the remarks of their adverſaries, that their hiſtorians have paſſed them over without obſervation: however, they ſerved only to irritate, without producing any alteration in opinion favourable to the king's cauſe. Very material ſigns of diſſatisfaction began now to appear in the army, who naturally imbibed a portion of that general diſcontent which prevailed in the nation, and who began to conſider the intereſts of their country, and their religion, to be more ſacred ties of obligation than thoſe principles of active and unlimited obedience, which excludes every rational conſideration even of moral good or political ſecurity, and which policy has dignified with the appellations of honour and fidelity. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, was the firſt officer

Deſertion of the military.

who

who deſerted to the prince; lord Lovelace followed his example, but was intercepted by the militia, under the duke of Beaufort, and was taken priſoner; lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, was more ſucceſsful: he attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and though ſome of them inſiſted on retreating when they perceived his intention, yet a conſiderable part of them accompanied him to the prince's quarters. Ann. 1688.

THE news of this deſertion gave a ſhort interruption to the king's deſign of joining his army; it became a queſtion, whether James ſhould truſt his perſon among men who had ſo little zeal for his ſervice, and who lay ſo open to the deſigns and practices of his enemies: and whilſt the impreſſions which this incident had occaſioned were in their full force, ſome of his majeſty's beſt friends adviſed him to call a parliament without delay, before he was publickly importuned on that head. They aſſured him, that if any attempt was made on his royal perſon and legal authority, the attempt would engage many honeſt men to ſtand by him; and they further urged, that prorogation and diſſolution being always in his power, he might, in the worſt ſuppoſable caſe, at laſt truſt to his forces.

THE Jeſuits, on their ſide, who knew they muſt be the ſacrifice of any compromiſe which took place between the king and his people, repreſented, that the union of the army with a parliament was the only rational object of fear; that a majority of parliament would always have a majority of the army at their devotion; and that if, on the other hand, his majeſty ſtood his ground reſolutely and firmly, if he rejected

Ann. 1688. jected all expedients, and placed his whole confidence in the valour and fidelity of his troops, they would acknowledge no other maſter, and would do their duty bravely, in the confidence that in fighting for him they would fight for themſelves.

Advice given on intereſted motives is commonly given with an energy equal to the power of the actuating principle; and therefore has commonly more weight on minds perplexed with uncertainty and apprehenſion, than the calm dictates of rational argument. The influence of the Jeſuits prevailed; it was determined that the appeal ſhould be made to the ſword, and James was talked into the belief that his preſence in the army would be ſufficient to inſpire them with courage, and to ſtrike terror into the enemy.

The difference of opinions which had prevailed in the cabinet did not long remain a ſecret to the public. It was aſſerted by the king's enemies, that he had declared poſitively againſt the calling a parliament, with intimations, that whoſoever ſhould preſume to require it of him would incur his higheſt diſpleaſure. This gave the higheſt triumph to the partizans of the prince of Orange, and was equal matter of concern to thoſe who knew that the intriguers at the Hague, and their friends in England, had dreaded no probable event more than that the king would aſſemble a parliament before the invaſion could take place; a meaſure which had been often promiſed to the people, and which had been poſtponed on the reaſon that the king could never be brought to truſt the fate of his darling object, the repeal of the teſts, to the free determinations even of a parliament picked and culled

out

out of that party who were the moſt devoted to the ſervice of the adminiſtration †. Ann. 1688.

"The ill effect which the report of the king's averſion to the aſſembling a parliament had on the minds of all thoſe whoſe affections had been entirely alienated, occaſioned a petition on the ſubject, which was ſigned indiſcriminately by friend and foe; by the one, in hopes that his majeſty would comply and ſave his crown at the expence of ſome of his prerogatives; and by the other, that he would not, and thus loſe the hearts of thoſe who were yet fluctuating in their political ſentiments. The meaſure was ſuggeſted by the marquis of Hallifax and lord Nottingham; yet, when they ſaw the names of lord Rocheſter, and the biſhop of that ſee at the bottom of the petition, they refuſed to join in any meaſure with any perſon who had ſat in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion: and when the matter came to be debated, they finally withdrew, on the reaſon, that the majority rejected a clauſe in favour of thoſe peers who had joined the prince of Orange. Their examples were followed by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Oxford, and the lord Carberry; and the petition was preſented by the two archbiſhops and two biſhops, in the name of nineteen peers, ſpiritual and temporal. As the king was unhappily determined not to call a parliament, the anxiety of his friends ſerved only to increaſe his perplexities; he told the petitioners that,

Petition for a parliament.

Petition rejected by the king.

† Certain regulators had been appointed to examine the qualifications of electors, and directions were given them to exclude all ſuch as adhered to the teſt and penal laws. Queries to this purpoſe were openly propoſed in all places, in order to try the ſentiments of men, and enable the king to judge of the proceedings of the future parliament; it was the unſatisfactory anſwer which was given to theſe queries which prevented the calling of this aſſembly. Hume.

Ann. 1688. he as paſſionately deſired a free parliament as they could do; and he promiſed, that on the faith of a king, as ſoon as the prince of Orange had quitted the realm, the prayer of their petition ſhould be granted: "for how is it poſſible," added he, "that a parliament can be free in all its circumſtances, which is the thing you petition for, whilſt an enemy is in the kingdom who can make a return of near an hundred voices?"

The petition, and the king's anſwer, were immediately made public; and afforded a new ſubject of contention between the papiſts and the churchmen: the latter were again put in mind of their former conduct; they were told of the vehement oppoſition they had made to the addreſſes in king Charles the Second's time, who pleaded the preſervation of the king's perſon, and of religion; and that they were then of opinion, that whenever the people are in a great ferment, and contrary parties are bandying one againſt another, that the giving them liberty to meet in great bodies was very dangerous to government, and on theſe reaſons was always to be avoided. It is manifeſt, by the roughneſs of the anſwer to theſe animadverſions, that the irritability of the party increaſed with the repetition of theſe ſtinging ſarcaſms; the papiſts were compared to ravenous monſters who lie in wait for their prey; France, Ireland, Hungary, and the vallies of Piedmont, it was ſaid, ſtill reeked with the blood of innocent victims, and ſtill echoed with the lamentations of a people ruined by truſting ſuch crocodiles; and if God, in his infinite mercy, had not watched over theſe kingdoms, and ſent a Gabriel to guard them, they had certainly fallen a victim to the intolerable pride, the lawleſs fury of a ſet of animals, called Catholics, ſubtle and treacherous by cuſtom and diſci-

diſcipline, not to be chained by any law, either of God or man, and therefore every body knew how far they might be relied on when the archangel was gone. Ann. 1688.

Before James ſet out for his journey to Saliſbury, he called together the officers who were in London, and made them the following ſpeech: "According to the lords peti-"tion, I have engaged my royal word to call a free parlia-"ment as ſoon as ever the prince of Orange has quitted theſe "kingdoms; and I am reſolved to do every thing which is "in my power to quiet the minds of my people, by ſecuring "their religion, laws, and liberties; if you deſire any thing "more I am ready to grant it: but after all this, if any of "you are not ſatisfied, let him declare himſelf; I am will-"ing to grant paſſes to all ſuch as are willing to go over to "the prince of Orange, and ſpare them the ſhame of de-"ſerting their lawful ſovereign." Among the officers thus addreſſed, were the duke of Grafton, lord Churchill, and the colonels Kirk and Trelawney, who, with the reſt of the aſſembly, aſſured the king that they were ſatisfied, and that they were ready to ſpill the laſt drop of blood in his ſervice.

As the moſt alarming tumults were to be apprehended from the rage of the people during the king's abſence, every care was taken to relieve the diſtreſſes of the populace, that they might not be impelled by their wants to raiſe ſedition; and every expedient was put in practice which could tend to mollify their anger and conciliate their affections. Public collections, by the expreſs order of James, were made for the uſe of the poor. The care of the city was very earneſtly recommended to the lord-mayor, who, at the ſame time,

Ann. 1688. was assured by the king, that if he returned victorious, he would punctually perform what he had promised for the security of the religion and liberties of the people. These precautions, though wise, were taken too late to have their desired effect: the majority of the cabinet-council, with whom the regal authority was lodged, were all papists, and, consequently, had no degree of credit with the populace, to whose moderation alone, rather than to any other cause, the papists were preserved from a general massacre, though at the expence of their mass-houses, which were attacked with such fury, that one of the priests lost his hand by endeavouring to save a consecrated candlestick.

With that anxious desire to acquire confidence and popularity which the present circumstances of the king's situation must necessarily excite, Mr. Chetwood, a protestant divine, was carried down in the king's train to Salisbury, and obtained leave to dislodge the Romish priests, whom he found in the possession of the chapel in the bishop's house, and to officiate in their stead; but, whatever effect these constrained condescensions might have on the commonalty, it had little on their superiors. The same evening that James arrived at Salisbury, a considerable number of the officers waited on lord Feversham, the general, and told him, that they could not in conscience fight against the prince of Orange. On this communication of their sentiments, Feversham proposed to the king to dismiss all the suspected officers, and to place the most trusty serjeants in their stead. Lord Dumbarton, a son of the house of Douglas, asked leave to attack the prince with his Scottish royal regiment, consisting of three thousand effective men; promising, at the same time, that he would give such a shock to the enemy as might lead the way

The king joins his army.

way to a defeat; and lord Dundee preſſed the king, either to give a general battle, or to go in perſon to the prince and demand his buſineſs in England. Ann. 1688.

The agitation of the king's ſpirits was too violent to admit of any counſel which required the exertion of fortitude, and the diſpaſſionate efforts of a calm reſolution: all the powers of his mind were ſuſpended in the conflict of paſſions; and his conſtitution was ſo ſtrongly affected by his mental ſufferings, as to render him totally incapable of exerciſing the functions of the office he had undertaken. It had been determined, the day after his arrival at the camp, that he ſhould viſit the advanced guard of his army, which lay quartered at Warminſter; but he was prevented by a violent bleeding at his noſe, which no applications could ſtop, but which was at length diverted by opening a vein.

This incident, which effectually put a ſtop to the intended expedition, is recorded with triumph by one ſide as marks of mental weakneſs and perturbation; and is repreſented by the other as a providential circumſtance which prevented the king from being delivered up to his enemies. According to theſe writers, it was at lord Churchill's inſtance that the expedition was undertaken; and they farther aſſert, that a plot was actually laid, between this nobleman and Kirk, to carry the king off, and to put him into the hands of the prince of Orange. This is confidently denied by the oppoſite faction: however, it is certain, that on the ſame day that the expedition was to have taken place, the lord Churchill, the duke of Grafton, with the colonels Kirk and Trelawney, and ſeveral other officers of rank, went over to the prince. Lord Churchill left an apology for his conduct, in

Deſertion of lord Churchill and other conſiderable officers.

Ann. 1688. in which he pleaded, that attachment to religious principle was the ſole motive by which he had been induced to violate the laws of gratitude; and to oppoſe the force of perſonal attachment, he promiſed warmly to preſerve his duty to the rights of the king: yet, by ſaying that he could not expect ſo great favours under any other government, he ſeemed to acknowledge that another government than the king's was in proſpect.

As lord Churchill had been raiſed from the rank of a page to the degree of a viſcount; had been inveſted with a high command in the army; and had owed a large fortune to the king's bounty, his deſerting his patron in ſuch a critical ſtate of his affairs, has been cenſured as an act of the moſt flagitious kind. Burnet takes great care to exculpate him from the charges of treachery and ingratitude, and aſcribes his conduct to the mere impulſe of religious principle; which unfortunately does not appear to have highly actuated the general tenour of his conduct. It is obſervable that Churchill, in his apology, has made no mention of the duties of a good citizen, or that inviolable attachment to the laws and liberties of one's country, which, in every judicious mind, will be found inſeparable from the obligations of religion; but theſe are ſentiments which indeed are little to be expected in a courtier, in times when the church had been ſo ſucceſsful in eradicating every rational idea of religion and morality from the minds of men: yet it would have been a fortunate circumſtance towards a favourable illuſtration of lord Churchill's conduct, if he had not voluntarily abſented himſelf at the time of the queen's delivery; if he had not made a merit with William of carrying over the princeſs Anne and her huſband; if he had not prompted this princeſs to an act of un-

neceſſary cruelty to an indulgent father; and, laſtly, if his having been treated with neglect by his new maſter had not occaſioned him to conſider his former conduct in ſuch a very different light from what he repreſents it in his apology, as to aſk pardon for it to James, and to avail himſelf again of the aſcendancy he had gained over the princeſs Anne, by engaging her, who was irritated by ſimilar provocations, to join in the ſame ſtrain of penitence. Ann. 1688.

Some time previous to Churchill's deſertion, James had been made acquainted with every part of lord Sunderland's treachery; and as this unfortunate prince had always piqued himſelf on the ſteady partiality he had ſhewn to thoſe who ſhared his confidence and enjoyed his friendſhip, the incident muſt needs have been highly ſhocking; but afflictions came now too thick upon him to ruminate long on any particular mortifying event. During the ſix days he remained at Saliſbury, he was every hour diſtracted with the news of misfortunes following one upon another; intelligence was received from the Weſt that lord Delamere had raiſed the people in Cheſhire, and that lord Devonſhire had acted the ſame part in Derbyſhire and Nottinghamſhire; from the North, that lord Danby, who had received a commiſſion to raiſe forces for the ſervice of the crown, had ſurpriſed the garriſon of York, and put the governor, ſir John Rereſby, under an arreſt, having firſt gained over four troops of the militia, and drawn over moſt of the nobility and gentry to the popular ſide; that in the South lord Bath had brought the garriſon of Plymouth to declare for the prince; that the whole gentry of Dorſetſhire had eſpouſed the ſame cauſe; and that captain Churchill, brother to lord Churchill, had joined the Dutch fleet with his ſhip. Ill ſtate of the king's affairs.

Un-

Ann. 1688. UNDER ſuch an accumulation of alarming and ſhocking incidents, the ſteadieſt mind would be apt to ſink. James, overwhelmed with anxiety and apprehenſion, not knowing in whom to place any confidence, or rather ſuſpecting all around him, and even dreading to be delivered up by his own army, retreated, with a part of his troops, to London; and upon hearing that the prince was advancing to Sherburne, after having defeated a part of his army at Wincaunton, he ordered the reſt to follow him.

The king returns to London.

THE night before the king retired, prince George of Denmark, and the young duke of Ormond, with lord Drumlanrig, had gone over to the enemy. James, ſtunned with repeated misfortunes of the like kind, received the information with ſangfroid, or rather with pleaſantry; but when he learned, upon entering the capital, that the princeſs Anne, under pretence of avoiding his diſpleaſure, had fled from the palace, accompanied with the lady Churchill, and the biſhop of London, he burſt into a flood of tears, and in a tranſport of ſorrow cried out, "God help me! my own children "have forſaken me!"

Princeſs Anne flies the palace.

IT is a circumſtance which almoſt ever attends the unfortunate, to have their misfortunes imputed to them as crimes. So ſtrong were the prejudices conceived againſt this unhappy father, who had been thus cruelly deſerted by his favourite child, that upon her diſappearance it was believed by the populace that ſhe had been put to death; and it is related as a fortunate circumſtance that the truth was timely diſcovered, otherwiſe the king's guards might have joined with the rabble to commence a general maſſacre on the prieſts and catholics, without ſparing even the perſons of the king and queen.

IN

In the midſt of all the diſſipation and vices of a court, James had preſerved a very high degree of domeſtic virtue; he had been a kind huſband to both his wives, and an indulgent father to all his children; but as the princeſs Anne had never been ſeparated from him, ſhe had been the object of a peculiar tenderneſs, and had experienced all the endearments of paternal fondneſs; ſhe acknowledges herſelf that the king's regard and reſpect to her quiet had ſo far checked the bigotry of his diſpoſition, as to have prevented him from diſturbing her on the ſubject of religion; and it is apparent that motives of policy, as well as the influence of natural affection, muſt, in theſe times of general diſtruſt and diſaffection, have ſecured her againſt the intrigues of a party whoſe cares were at preſent ſolely directed to the important intereſts of perſonal ſafety; her leaving her father, therefore, at this critical period, when he was overwhelmed with the flood of thoſe misfortunes which his imprudence had brought upon him, was an act of inhumanity which equally militated againſt principles of gratitude and the duties of filial piety, and could admit of no palliation, had it originated from any depravity in the mind of the princeſs: but the princeſs Anne, though bleſſed with a virtuous diſpoſition, had given herſelf up ſo entirely to the guidance of the Churchill family, as to be in a manner deprived of a free agency in every ſenſe of moral liberty; and as her flight ſerved to decreaſe the ſmall popularity which remained to the king, it muſt neceſſarily highly exalt the ſervices of lord Churchill in the eyes of his new patron, at the ſame time that it, in a great meaſure, countenanced his deſertion †. The princeſs, either to avoid the ap- Ann. 1688.

† Notwithſtanding all the aſſertions made by the party concerned, that this ſtep of the princeſs Anne proceeded from a ſudden tranſport of fear, it appears very plain

Ann. 1688. appearance of joining the prince of Orange againſt her father, or to give occaſion for an inſurrection under the pretence of protection to her perſon, went not to Dorſetſhire to her huſband, who was with the malecontent army, but retired to Northampton, where ſhe was reſpectfully received by the earl of Northampton, and, in a ſhort time, was attended by a ſmall army of volunteers, commanded by the biſhop of London, who, in his youth, had been a cornet of dragoons, and who now rode before his charge with a drawn ſword in his hand, and piſtols at his ſaddle.

The king ſummons an aſſembly of peers.

As ſoon as the king had recovered from the diſorder which his daughter's flight had flung him into, he ſummoned an aſſembly of the peers to aſk their advice, and to make an apology to them for having diſappointed the wiſhes of the nation in not calling a parliament. This was undoubtedly a very proper meaſure, but it had been delayed too long to reſtore the tranquillity of his mind, or to preſerve him from thoſe repeated mortifications, which, on every occaſion, are ex-

by what has been obſerved by biſhop Burnet, with the confirmation of correſponding circumſtances, that the prince and princeſs of Denmark had, through the lord Churchill's means, been deeply engaged in forwarding the deſigns of the prince of Orange, ſome time before the invaſion had taken place; that the princeſs's flight was premeditated; and that her deſertion, with that of her huſband and the lord Churchill, with regard to time and circumſtances, had been regulated in a manner as ſhould moſt effectually contribute to throw the king into deſpair, and, in conſequence, facilitate the revolution. There was ſo great a reſemblance in the letter which the prince of Denmark ſent to the king, and that which his majeſty had previouſly received from the lord Churchill, as to carry evident marks that they were penned by the ſame individual. The biſhop of London, who, in the preſent circumſtances, could not have any reaſon to apprehend the ſmalleſt danger to his perſon, had, a few days before the princeſs's flight, withdrawn from his uſual reſidence at Whitehall, to a private lodging; but not without having communicated the place of his retreat to the lady Churchill, who carried off the princeſs the very night that her conſort, the prince of Denmark, had left the king at Andover, by a pair of back ſtairs, which had been previouſly made for that purpoſe.

perienced

perienced by the unfortunate. In paſſing to the council, Ann. 1688.
James was met by the old earl of Bedford; and on the king's addreſſing him in the following manner, "My lord, you are "a good man; you have much intereſt with the peers, and "can do me ſervice with them this day;" he was ſtruck motionleſs with the keen, yet natural, reply returned by the earl: "I once had a ſon," ſaid this nobleman, "who could "have ſerved your majeſty on this occaſion." The loyal and orthodox lord Clarendon delivered his thoughts on the ſituation of affairs with ſeverity and rudeneſs; and though the aſſembly, in general, ſhewed ſymptoms of diſguſt at what they deemed an unneceſſary inſult, yet the propoſals they made to the king carried with them a bitterneſs which could hardly admit of aggravation from the acrimony of language. According to the determined ſenſe of a large majority, the king was adviſed firſt to grant a general pardon to all thoſe that either were come over with the prince of Orange, or had joined him ſince his landing; ſecondly, to remove papiſts from offices; thirdly, to aſſemble a parliament; and, fourthly, to ſend a deputation for a treaty with the prince. Advices delivered from ſuch an aſſembly to a prince in James's ſituation, carried with them the authority of commands. The king took one night to conſider on the advice which had been given, and in the morning declared his aſſent to every article but that which reſpected the turning the papiſts out of offices, which he ſaid he would leave to be debated in parliament. To manifeſt the ſincerity of the king's intentions, the lord chancellor had immediate orders for the iſſuing out writs for the parliament to meet on the 15th of January, next following; and a proclamation was ſet forth, which declared, that for the ſecurity of all perſons, both in their elections and ſervice in parliament, all the ſubjects of the realm ſhould

Writs iſſued for a parliament.

Ann. 1688. have full liberty to elect; and all the peers, and ſuch as ſhould be elected members of the houſe of commons, ſhould have full liberty to ſit and ſerve in parliament, notwithſtanding they had taken up arms, or committed any acts of hoſtility, or had been any way aiding or aſſiſting therein; that for the better aſſurance hereof, his majeſty had directed a general pardon to all his ſubjects, to be forthwith prepared to paſs the great ſeal; and that for the reconciling all public breaches, and obliterating the memory of paſt miſcarriages, his majeſty did hereby exhort and kindly admoniſh all his ſubjects to diſpoſe themſelves to elect ſuch perſons for their repreſentatives in parliament as might not be biaſſed by prejudice and paſſion, but qualified with parts, experience, and prudence, proper for the conjuncture.

Commiſſioners appointed to treat with the prince.

In the appointing commiſſioners to treat with the prince of Orange, the king found ſome difficulty; the marquis of Hallifax and the earl of Rocheſter were as much at variance as ever, and had each their train of followers; the former, for what reaſon I know not, had gained the confidence of the moderate churchmen and the nonconformiſts, and the latter ſtood high in the opinion of the epiſcopalian zealots. Both theſe noblemen were candidates for an employment which would furniſh them at leaſt with an opportunity of ſerving themſelves, if not their maſter; and it was propoſed to employ both, that neither might be diſobliged; but ſo great was the animoſity which ſubſiſted between them, that they would not ſerve together. From the perplexity ariſing from this diſcordance, the king could not eaſily extricate himſelf: to the earl of Rocheſter he always retained a perſonal attachment, but having a higher confidence in the marquis of Hallifax's abilities, and the warm profeſſions of loyalty recently

cently made by this nobleman, he gave him the preference to his rival, and endeavoured to mitigate the reſentment of the high church party, by nominating the earl of Nottingham in his room: a circumſtance of conduct ſo ſtrongly reſented by the Hyde family, that the earl of Clarendon went off in diſguſt to the prince of Orange's quarters; but as his politics did not ſquare with the prince of Orange's views, he was rather regarded as a ſpy than a friend, and was accordingly treated with coldneſs, diffidence, and neglect. Ann. 1688.

THE proſpect of terminating the national diſputes in a conſtitutional way, without bloodſhed, by the determinations of a free parliament, armed with ſufficient power, not only to redreſs grievances, but to balance the prerogatives of the crown and the liberties of the people, in a manner as ſhould put a final period to thoſe domeſtic broils, which, from the time that the people of England had been in any meaſure emancipated from a ſtate of abject ſervitude, had harraſſed the country with all the miſeries of civil commotion, and had more than once endangered the loſs of their dear-bought privileges, gave great ſatisfaction to all thoſe who had a perſonal attachment to the reigning family, to the preſent frame and conſtitution of the government, and to the permanence of national liberty: by men of theſe principles and affections the king's condeſcenſions were celebrated with feſtivity and rejoicing, and his majeſty was addreſſed on the occaſion by the earl of Dartmouth, and all the loyal officers in the fleet.

THE ſentiments with which this change in the ſituation of affairs inſpired the prince of Orange, and all thoſe who expected an elevation of fortune from the elevation of their leader,

Ann. 1688. leader, will be ſufficiently manifeſt from an attention to the circumſtances which immediately followed the public notoriety of the king's intention; for the commiſſioners had ſcarcely begun their journey, when a paper was made public under the title of Popiſh Treaties not to be relied on, in a Letter from a Gentleman of York to his Friend in the Prince of Orange's Camp; where, after enumerating a variety of examples proper to demonſtrate the propoſition contained in the title, the prince of Orange was recommended to the public as a hero poſſeſſing virtues which no temptation could undermine or corrupt. At this important period, a Hue and Cry after Father Petre was alſo hawked about the ſtreets; and a Ballad called Lillibulero, in ridicule of the Iriſh, and rendered famous for its political effects on the minds of the vulgar, was ſung in all places, the playhouſe not excepted; and to complete the effects propoſed by theſe manœuvres, one Speke, who had offered his ſervices to James on the purpoſe of betraying him, and in the character of a ſpy for this unfortunate prince, plumed himſelf on the erroneous ſteps he had led him into, by the ſending him falſe and intimidating accounts of the ſtrength of his ſon-in-law's army, and the number of his adherents, now publiſhed a declaration in the name of the prince of Orange, in which James was treated with great ſeverity, and in which every one was commanded to ſeize and puniſh all papiſts, who, contrary to law, pretended either to carry arms, or to exerciſe any act of authority. It is aſſerted by the popular party that the prince of Orange was not made acquainted with the contents of this paper, and diſowned it as ſoon as he ſaw it; but this diſavowal was merely verbal: whereas Speke, although it muſt be acknowledged that it was not till after the prince's deceaſe, peremptorily declared in print that he gave the paper in

Meaſures of the popular party to intimidate the king.

in queſtion to the prince to peruſe, who ſeemed at firſt ſurpriſed at it; but that when he had read and conſidered the contents, both his highneſs, and all who were about him, ſeemed not at all to be diſpleaſed; and that, in a little time, they were ſatisfied that it had done his highneſs's intereſt a great deal of ſervice. Certain it is that ſuch a declaration in the midſt of a treaty, perſuaded James that the prince thought his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to diſpenſe with ceremony; increaſed the terrors of his friends; and inſpired his enemies with courage to imitate in their words and actions that premature ſeverity which they aſcribed to the prince. Ann. 1688.

Alarming intelligence.

THE trepidation of ſpirits which theſe untoward events occaſioned, were highly aggravated by intelligences of a nature equally alarming, which flowed daily in from every quarter of the empire. The earl of Shrewſbury and Sir John Guiſe took poſſeſſion of Briſtol, without oppoſition; at Worceſter, in a meeting of the gentry of that county and the county of Hereford, a declaration paſſed in favour of the prince of Orange, and a free parliament. Even the loyal orthodox univerſity of Oxford had made a formal addreſs to the prince as the deliverer of the nation, and the protector of its privileges, and now ſigned the aſſociation; and at Saliſbury he was received by the magiſtrates in their formalities, and joined by the duke of Somerſet and the earl of Oxford. In the North, lieutenant-colonel Copley, deputy-governor of Hull, with the aſſiſtance of the townſmen, ſeamen, and part of the garriſon, ſeized the popiſh governor, lord Langdale, in the night, as alſo lord Montgomery, and a great many other papiſts, who had fled thither for refuge, and made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle. The duke of Norfolk made

Ann. 1688. made uſe of the commiſſion he had received from the king as lord lieutenant of the county, to raiſe the poſſe comitatus, in order to ſupport, as he ſaid, the meaſure of a free parliament. Lord Lumley was received into Newcaſtle; and Berwick, which had till now held out with a kind of obſtinate firmneſs for the king, at length ſubmitted to the prevailing party.

Affairs of Scotland.

THAT ſpirit of reſiſtance which the ſupport of a foreign army had ſo warmly revived in England, ſoon extended itſelf through the northern parts of the empire. The preſbyterians of Scotland, who had been harraſſed with the utmoſt rigours of eccleſiaſtical and civil tyranny through every period of the ignominious reigns of the two brothers, eagerly embraced the opportunity which the difficulties, into which James was involved, afforded, to fling off the yoke of a government under which they had invariably ſuffered all thoſe oppreſſions which, from the nature of civil and religious bigotry, inflamed by inſolence, muſt neceſſarily be experienced by thoſe whoſe political and religious tenets are oppoſite, even in the extreme, to their governors. Notwithſtanding all the parade which had been made of the love, zeal, and loyalty which univerſally prevailed in Scotland, the Scotch miniſtry were very ſenſible that it was the principle of fear only which had preſerved the tranquillity of their adminiſtration; and they remonſtrated very ſtrongly againſt the meaſure of calling up the regular forces to the aſſiſtance of the king's troops in England, and propoſed, by way of alternative, to draw together an army of thirteen thouſand men, compoſed of militia and new-raiſed Highlanders, to be diſpoſed in ſuch a manner between the two kingdoms as to be able to act in either, as occaſion ſhould demand.

Agreeable to the nature of the human mind, which is always so ſtrongly affected by objects of immediate danger as to diſregard more remote evils, the remonſtrances of the Scotch miniſtry were totally diſregarded; and though the abſence of the regulars were immediately ſupplied by ſuch as could be moſt depended on, yet no ſooner were the regulars withdrawn, than the preſbyterians crowded up to Edinburgh from all parts of the kingdom, formed themſelves into clubs, and, in a ſhort time, becoming too formidable to be oppoſed, they contrived to cut off all intercourſe between the court and the regency, by intercepting the packets which paſſed on both ſides: to remedy this evil, one Brand, a merchant, was diſpatched with a detail of the preſent diſtracted ſituation of affairs, and a requeſt, that his majeſty would ſend ſuch inſtructions as ſhould be ſuitable to the exigencies of the times: but Brand no ſooner perceived how ſtrongly the current ran in the South on the popular ſide, than he carried his diſpatches to the prince of Orange. The earl of Balcarras was now appointed by the regency to wait on the king in perſon; but before he ſet out, he had the mortification of ſeeing the whole frame of oligarchical tyranny, which had ſo long kept both the nobility and the commonalty in awe, totally diſſolved by a diſunion among themſelves. Ann. 1688.

On the intelligence of the prince of Orange's ſucceſs, and the king's precipitate retreat to London, the marquis of Athol, who was the ſecond at the council-board, influenced by that natural enmity which men in power have to their ſuperiors in office, formed a deſign to drive away Perth the chancellor; and, by the aſſiſtance of the viſcount Tarbat and Sir John Dalrymple, carried a vote at the council-board for the diſbanding of the militia, except four com-

Ann. 1688. panies of foot and two of horſe. The diſmiſſion of the troops had no ſooner taken place than the mob were put in motion; and, on pretence of appeaſing the tumult, Perth was adviſed to withdraw as a man the moſt obnoxious to the malecontents, and whoſe preſence would infallibly prevent the government from taking any meaſures which might lead to the re-eſtabliſhment of the legal authority. Thus forſaken, and even perſecuted by his coadjutors in tyranny and miſchief, the chancellor, who had gone every baſe length to arrive at the ſummit of delegated power, found himſelf obliged to make a precipitate retreat; a circumſtance which was immediately followed by a violent attack on the chapel in Holyrood houſe, and the ſeminary of the Jeſuits. Theſe ſanctuaries were for a conſiderable time defended by the bravery of captain Wallace, who, with a troop of one hundred and twenty men, had, three days before, been placed by order of the privy-council, for the purpoſe of defence; but the mob having obtained a warrant from the marquis of Athol, requiring Wallace to ſurrender, and in caſe of a refuſal, to call in the aſſiſtance of the civil magiſtrate, he was at length overcome; the chapel, and the ſeminary, were both totally deſtroyed; and, to crown the triumph of the popular party, the ſame privy-council which had ſo long been ſubſervient to the tyrannical purpoſes of James and his predeceſſor, made a ſolemn addreſs to the prince of Orange, in which they acknowledged him to be the ſole reſtorer of law and liberty.

The terror which this univerſal defection, and the foregoing incidents, occaſioned in the king's mind, was greatly heightened by the manner in which his commiſſioners were treated by the prince of Orange; for although a free parliament, the only avowed end of the prince's undertaking, had

had been granted in the moſt explicit terms, yet could not Ann. 1688.
theſe meſſengers of peace receive an audience under ten days delay; a period of time which was very judiciouſly employed by the prince in taking meaſures to increaſe his party, and to refreſh and ſtrengthen his army. But when the king was informed that his ſon-in-law had waved a perſonal treaty, and had appointed ſuch commiſſioners to treat as were either ſtrangers to buſineſs, or who could not meet with his on tolerable terms; that motions had been made for ſuperſeding the writs for calling a parliament, he † began to give over all hopes of reconciliation on terms leſs ſevere than the reſigning the ſovereignty into the hands of his enemy, and liſtened to counſels which effectually deprived himſelf, and his family, of any probable means of a reſtoration to that dignity, which had been yet more fooliſhly loſt than it had been ſhamefully abuſed.

The young prince was ſo inſuperable an object to the aggrandizement of the prince of Orange, and ſo odious to the proteſtants in general, on account of the prejudices with which it was evident his mind would be tinctured through the bigotry of his parents, that the king's fears were very early awakened for the ſafety of his perſon and liberty; which, as ſoon as the prince of Orange had effected his landing, and had met with the general countenance of the people, his majeſty endeavoured to preſerve by ſending him to Portſmouth, in order to be conveyed to France; but lord Dartmouth, on prudential motives of ſafety, and regarding it as a meaſure which would be highly detrimental to the

† The prince over-ruled this, and in the heat of altercation ſaid to Sir Henry Capel, "By your favour, ſir Henry, we may drive away the king; but, perhaps, we may not know ſo eaſily how to come by a parliament." Clarendon's Diary.

Ann. 1688. king's and the princes intereſt, refuſed to obey the orders he had received on the occaſion; and the marquis of Powis, who had undertaken the charge of the prince's perſon, was obliged to reconduct him back to Whitehall.

Barillon, who ſaw that if the peace of the nation was eſtabliſhed in a conſtitutional manner, by the dictates of a free parliament, that the king of France would no longer maintain his wonted influence over the Britiſh counſels, did not fail to take advantage of the king's perplexities; and whilſt the terrors of his mind were daily increaſing by the ſucceſſion of new misfortunes, new diſappointments, and new mortifications; whilſt he was kept in continual agitation by the fear of his prieſts, the memory of his father's fate, and the anxiety of his conſort, who was filled with apprehenſions for the ſafety of her huſband's perſon, and the perſon of her ſon, ſhe urged him to take refuge in France, on the view of returning ſpeedily, ſupported by greater ſuccours than thoſe which he had refuſed. Thoſe papiſts, who had rendered themſelves peculiarly obnoxious by their activity and ambition, joined in the ſame advice; and, agreeable to the weak doctrines which had lately prevailed, both among the papiſts and the high churchmen, they argued, that the departure of the lawful prince would throw looſe all the dependences of government, and by reducing things to a ſtate of nature, render the re-eſtabliſhment of the nation impracticable. This argument was too agreeable to the fond prejudices of James not to be attended to; and when it was inforced by the queen's tears and intreaties, who adjured him by the tender names of huſband and father, to fly a country fatal to his houſe and to royalty, it prevailed over every ſentiment of honour and pride, which had long kept him in ſuſpence,

and

and he at length consented to the departure of the queen and the prince, and to promise that he would speedily follow her. Ann. 1689.

For the gaining this point, every intimidating expedient had been used by the enemy; and in order to confirm the king in the fatal resolution of deserting the throne, the marquis of Halifax, who had basely offered to betray his master into the hands of his son-in-law *, sent him a letter; in which he intimated, that his person was in danger, and that he ought to make use of the freedom which he at present enjoyed to effect his escape. So entirely was the king deluded by the artifices of his enemies, that from the time of the queen's absence, who departed with the young prince on the 6th of December, under the conduct of the count de Lauzan, that his whole behaviour, as far as the anxiety of his mind would admit, was regulated to the purpose of misleading all he conversed with on this particular; but the perturbations of his mind was too visible for the keen fighted eye of affection or interest. He would often repeat a saying of his father's, that "small was the distance between "the prisons of princes and their graves." To some with whom he conversed, he affected to be pleased with the progress made in the treaty, although the terms proposed by the prince implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty †.

Queen retires with the prince of Wales to France.

To

* Burnet relates, that the marquis of Halifax took occasion to ask him privately, if the prince of Orange had a mind to have the king in his hands; by no means, replied Burnet, for we would not hurt his person. What if he has a mind to go away? replied the marquis: There is nothing so much to be wished, answered Burnet: who farther says, that he took an occasion to relate the conversation to the prince, and that his highness approved of both his answers.

† The prince's answer contained the following demands, That all papists should be disarmed and removed from employments; that the Tower of London, and Tilbury-

Ann. 1688. To others he gave out that he was to fight the prince, and ordered the guards to be got ready; and, in the hearing of others, he gave directions for the calling a council. The infatuated monarch, having thus, in his opinion, quieted the apprehenſions of his friends, and deceived the vigilance of his enemies, after committing the diary which he had kept from his youth, to the ambaſſador of Savoy, to be ſent to Marſeilles, and given ſecret warning to father Peters and lord Milfort, to avoid the danger which their unpopularity would neceſſarily bring upon them, he ſat out on the 11th of December, at three o'clock in the morning, attended by Sir Edward Hales, and two ſervants, and with the utmoſt precipitation paſſed the river in a large barge rowed by two watermen.

The king leaves his palace.

The more effectually to involve the nation into that confuſion which he vainly hoped would render his recall neceſſary, the king did not make any appointment for the exerciſing any part of the adminiſtration, he even threw the great-ſeal into the river, and recalled all the writs which had been iſſued for a free parliament.

Outrages of the mob.

Thus, by a temporary diſſolution of the government, the populace were become the maſters; and it muſt be acknowledged, that they uſed their power with a greater degree of moderation than could reaſonably be expected; their outrages being almoſt entirely confined to the deſtroying maſs-houſes, and to the rifling the houſes of the Florentine envoy,

bury Fort, ſhould be put in the hands of the city; and Portſmouth into the hands of perſons choſen by both princes; that a revenue ſhould be aſſigned for the maintenance of the prince's army; and that if the king choſe to reſide at London during the ſitting of parliament, the prince might reſide there likewiſe, attended by an equal number of guards; or if the king ſhould prefer the being in any place from the capital, the prince ſhould have leave to be at an equal diſtance.

and the Spaniſh ambaſſador, where many of the papiſts had lodged their moſt valuable effects. Of all thoſe who had deſervedly drawn on themſelves the extreme of popular odium, no one ſuffered in their perſons but the inhuman Jeffreys, who, dreading the effect of national reſentment, on the firſt intelligence of the king's retreat, had ſhaved his eye-brows, put on a ſeaman's habit, and, in this diſguiſe, repaired to Wapping, with a deſign to take ſhipping for Hamburgh; but being ſeen looking out of a window by a ſcrivener in the neighbourhood, whom he had once highly abuſed on a trial, the alarm was given to the populace; and Jeffreys, after experiencing all thoſe ſeverities, which might be well expected from an enraged multitude, was dragged before the lord-mayor, who ſeeing a man whom he had never looked on without trembling, brought before him in ſo deplorable a condition, fell into fits and ſoon after died. The culprit Jeffreys was carried to the Tower, in order to ſecure him from farther violence, where he, in a ſhort time, died of the bruiſes he had received from the hands of the mob. Ann. 1688. Dalrymple's Memoirs.

The conſternation which the public diſorders occaſioned was highly increaſed by the king's general; who, in a fit of ill-humour, on the intelligence of his maſter's retreat, diſbanded the army in the neighbourhood of the capital, without either pay or proviſion; and in order to improve this incident to the advantage of the prince of Orange, and to render his authority neceſſary to the re-eſtabliſhment of law and order, the ſame Speke who had ſet forth a declaration in the prince's name, now circulated a report, that the Iriſh part of the diſbanded army had begun the maſſacre of the proteſtants. Such was the induſtry uſed in the propagation of this alarming fiction, that it was ſpread all over the kingdom in one day. King's army diſbanded. General conſternation.

Ann. 1688. day; An univerſal conſternation enſued, the alarum bells were rung, the beacons were fired, all men ſtood to their arms; ſhops were ſhut up, houſes were barricadoed, watches were ſet at nights, and lights were hung out to deſcry the approach of the murderers; and the frenzy of imagination roſe to ſuch an height, that in thoſe parts of the country, where the villages were near to each other, the inhabitants fancied they heard the groans of thoſe who were ſlaughtered in their neighbourhood.

Peers form themſelves into a council for the management of public affairs.

In this exigence of affairs, ſuch of the peers, ſpiritual and temporal, who remained in London, aſſembled with the intention of acting in concert with the magiſtracy of the city; but, finding theſe citizens utterly inſenſible of their importance, and, conſequently, incapable of acting with that dignity and ſpirit which ſuch a criſis required, they formed themſelves into a regular council, appointed their clerks, choſe for their ſpeaker that active politician the marquis of Halifax, and taking the management of affairs into their hands, they gave directions to the lord-mayor and aldermen for the peace of the city; and iſſued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet and the garriſons.

Declaration and addreſſes in favour of the prince of Orange.

In the declaration, which the peers ſet forth of their intention to preſerve the public peace, and to ſecure the kingdom from the machinations of the popiſh party, they avowed their reſolution to apply themſelves to the prince of Orange, whoſe enterprize they highly applauded, and whoſe endeavours they promiſed to aſſiſt towards the obtaining ſuch a parliament as might, by its unbiaſſed authority, ſecure the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and of the church of England in particular, with a due liberty to diſſenters; and, in general,

that the proteſtant religion, over the whole world might be encouraged and ſupported. Ann. 1688.

The firſt name affixed to this declaration was that of the loyal and orthodox archbiſhop of Canterbury. It was preſented to the prince at Henley, by a deputation, conſiſting of one of each order of the peerage; but, though flattering in a high degree to the expectations of the prince, it was exceeded by the zeal and complaiſance of the magiſtracy and lieutenancy of London, who proceeded by addreſs, inſtead of a declaration; and who, after thanking him in very humble terms for their deliverance, begged his protection, and invited him to repair to the capital for the completion of the great work which he had ſo happily begun.

The duke of Northumberland, who, in the office of lord of the bedchamber, had attended the king to the laſt moment of his departure, aſſembled his troop of life-guards, and declared for the prince; the marquis of Miremont, who commanded a regiment of horſe, followed his example; and in a meeting of the principal officers at Whitehall, it was reſolved to ſend an expreſs to the prince, with an aſſurance, that they would give their aid toward preſerving the peace of the city till he himſelf ſhould undertake it. Before the receipt of theſe addreſſes, the prince, taking advantage of the report circulated by Speke, had iſſued a declaration, which commanded the officers to aſſemble their regiments in proper places, and to preſerve them in diſcipline and order: his declaration was inſtantly and implicitly obeyed as if he was already in the quiet poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority of the nation; and what was yet a ſtronger omen of his approaching elevation, the weſtern road was covered with the carriages

Ann. 1688. of men of the firſt rank, who rode poſt haſte to make him a tender of their ſervices, to ſolicit his commands, and to bargain for their rewards. His camp carried the face of a court, and his favourites aſſumed the importance of men who had the nation at their diſpoſal.

The king taken at Feverſham whilſt endeavouring to effect his eſcape.

WHILST the face of affairs carried this triumphant appearance, and every one turning their back on the fugitive monarch, were eagerly employed in courting the riſing ſun, the unwelcome news arrived that James had been ſeized by the populace at Feverſham, whilſt he was endeavouring to make his eſcape. This important intelligence was brought by a countryman, who waited for a long time at the door of the council-room without obtaining admittance, or any perſon acknowledging that they were acquainted with the import of the meſſage. The marquis of Halifax was proceeding to break up the council abruptly, when the lord Mulgrave, with ſome degree of indignation, inſiſted, that they ſhould ſit ſtill: he then introduced the meſſenger, who, with tears, delivered a letter, which was without ſuperſcription, which was ordered to be delivered to any who would bring aſſiſtance, and which was to the following purpoſe: "the "king acquaints the reader that he has been diſcovered in his "retreat by ſome fiſhermen of Kent and was at firſt ſecured by "by the gentry, but they have been ſince forced to deliver him "into the hands of an inſolent rabble." The council, being thus taken by ſurprize, came to the reſolution of ſending lord Feverſham, with two hundred of the king's life-guards, and his coaches, to attend him, and to leave it to his pleaſure either to retire abroad, or to return if he pleaſed. Encouraged with this mark of reſpect, and ſwayed by the perſuaſions of the earl of Winchelſea, who had repaired to him in his diſtreſs, and who had earneſtly

earneſtly entreated him not to abandon the kingdom, but rather to collect his friends together, and to open a negociation with the prince of Orange, the king took the reſolution to return to the capital, where, according to the relations of the moſt authentic hiſtorians, he was received by the populace with ſhouts and acclamations of joy; but the ſatisfaction he received from theſe marks of returning tenderneſs and ſympathy among the lower ranks of his ſubjects, was greatly overbalanced by circumſtances of a very mortifying nature which he experienced on his arrival at Whitehall. The city did not, as uſual, ſend him a deputation of felicitation for his return; a very few counſellors attended his ſummons; his court continued a ſolitude; his own officers, both in the treaſury and the exchequer, refuſed to obey his order in the diſpoſal of any part of the revenue without the conſent of the prince of Orange; and he was driven to ſuch diſtreſſes, even in pecuniary matters, as to lay him under a neceſſity of borrowing one hundred guineas from the lord Godolphin. Ann. 1688.

The king returns to London.

The prince was juſt arrived at Windſor when he received the unwelcome news of the king's being interrupted in his attempt to leave the kingdom; it was brought by one of the gentlemen who had helped to detain him, and who undoubtedly expected to receive a reward for his ſervices; but he found himſelf much miſtaken in his politics. The prince was ſo much off his guard as even to expreſs a high diſpleaſure at the officiouſneſs of thoſe who had prevented his majeſty from going off; alſo at the council of peers for the meaſures they had taken without his concurrence. He ſent him a letter by Zuleſtein not to come nearer London than Rocheſter; he put lord Feverſham under arreſt who brought

Ann. 1688. him a letter from the king, desiring a conference for an accommodation, and inviting the prince to St. James's with leave to bring what troops he pleased to town. A general council was called at Sion-house to deliberate on what was to be done on so extraordinary a crisis, which dashed the rising hopes of the ambitious on the very eve of possession. As few men could equal the prince of Orange in the power of concealing the emotions of the mind, and as most of the assembly thought themselves equally interested in the event, evident marks of disappointment and anger sat on the counsellors; it was generally agreed not to give up the point of desertion, by entering into a treaty; and when the measure came to be debated in what manner to dispose of the king's person, some even of those who afterwards figured in a high style of Jacobitism, proposed the sending him to the Tower; others hinted at the touching his life; and a large majority were of opinion that he should not remain at Whitehall. By those who were for keeping the king a prisoner till the public affairs were settled, it was very plausibly and even rationally alledged that the restraint of his person would oblige the earl of Tyrconnel to deliver up the government, and disarm the papists, which would preserve that kingdom, and secure the safety of the protestants; and to prevent the ill consequences of that compassion which might operate in his favour, if imprisoned in any place in England, Breda was proposed for the place of his confinement. The prince was not swayed either by the violence of some of his counsellors, or the more rational views of others; a conduct which by his panegyrists has been imputed to moderation, and by his enemies, who did not consider that he was a politician of that class who always endeavoured to conciliate reputation with his views of aggrandizement, either to a promise which he had made the

princeſs that he would not hurt the perſon of her father, or to the apprehenſion of the ſtrength of his wife's title in caſe of her father's death, or, laſtly, to the opinion that neither the king's death or impriſonment would ſo eaſily pave his way to the throne as James's taking refuge in the court of a monarch ſo juſtly hated by the Engliſh as was Lewis the Fourteenth. Ann. 1688.

Dutch guards take poſſeſſion of the palace.

WHILST the prince and his council were yet deliberating at Windſor, the Dutch guards, under count Solmes, had orders to march on to Chelſea and Kenſington, and to quarter at thoſe places all night; and when on the iſſue of the debates it was determined that the king ſhould be ordered to leave his palace, and to depart for Ham, a ſeat of the ducheſs of Lauderdale's, the count had freſh orders to puſh on to London, to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, and to diſlodge the Engliſh guards. The march of the Dutch guards was ſoon magnified into a report that the prince was marching with his whole army to take poſſeſſion of the city; the citizens were ſtruck with a panic, which being reported to count Solmes, he rode himſelf to London, and informed lord Craven, who commanded the king's guards, of the true ſtate of things, and of the orders he had received. Lord Craven prepared for a defence; but the news having now reached the king's ears, he ſent for the count, and after aſking whether it was not poſſible for him to be indulged with the attendance of his own guards, and being anſwered that the count's orders were poſitive, he forbad any reſiſtance; and the lord Craven being with much difficulty perſuaded to withdraw, the Dutch guards had orders to advance, and they took poſſeſſion of St. James's at ten o'clock at night. About three hours after, when the king was retired to reſt, or rather to meditate

Ann. 1688. tate in silent anguish on the horrors of his situation, he was disturbed with a peremptory message from the prince, that for the greater quiet of the city he must remove to Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale's, where he should be attended by the prince's guards, who would be ready to preserve him from any disturbance. The message was brought by the earl of Shrewsbury, the lord Delamere, and the marquis of Halifax, who was forced on this employment either with the design of encreasing the mortifications of the king, by receiving such a message from his own commissioner, or of saving the prince's reputation by throwing the odium of the action on the king's most favoured subjects, or, lastly, perhaps with a view of exposing the meanness of a man, who, whilst affairs were in a state of uncertainty, had preferred, before every other consideration, his personal safety and interest †. Though the king received the messengers in bed, yet so great was the dejection of his spirits, or so entirely had he resigned himself to the consequences attending his disgrace, that he asked the messengers whether he must set forward immediately, they returned answer, that he might take his rest first, but he must be gone early in the morning, for the safety of affairs required that the prince should come early to London. The messengers having thus discharged their commission, withdrew; but were immediately

The king required to remove to Ham.

† Lord Clarendon, who had long perceived that neither the prince of Orange or his party had any design of keeping up to the terms of his declaration, earnestly moved that the king should have leave to retire to one of his country palaces. In this he was over-ruled by the marquis of Halifax, who insisting that it was the opinion of the council that the king should be sent to Ham, proposed that the message should be carried by count Solmes. "By your favour," said the prince, "the resolution was your own, and one of yourselves shall deliver it:" and then named the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Delamere, with Halifax himself; and afterwards made himself merry with the awkward distress to which the commissioners was reduced. Clarendon's State Papers. Dalrymple's Memoirs.

followed by lord Middleton, with a propoſal from the king, that inſtead of going to Ham, he might have leave to go back to Rocheſter. This requeſt, which manifeſted that the artifice of thoſe who aimed at a revolution in the government, had taken effect, was granted without heſitation. Matters being thus ſettled, the king next deſired that he might paſs through the city, and go by land; but Halifax returned anſwer that his preſence in paſſing through the city would create diſturbances and move pity. And though the king had declared that he could not travel by water againſt wind and tide, in ſo rigorous a ſeaſon, yet he remained an hour in his barge before his ſervants were ready to attend him; by which he miſſed the tide, and did not arrive at Graveſend till three hours after the ſun was ſet, in the month of December. Ann. 1681.

The king obtains permiſſion to retire to Rocheſter. Dalrympl's Memoirs.

Besides theſe calamities, which are almoſt the neceſſary conſequences to the diſgrace of princes, the ſeverities which had been inflicted on the Stuart family, in the perſons of Mary and Charles; the firſt had filled the imagination of James with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions. A nice attention to the different nature of ſituations muſt be the operation of an undiſturbed mind; and in the king's preſent perturbation of ſpirits it is not ſurpriſing that he ſhould overlook circumſtances which his rival in power juſtly regarded as inſurmountable obſtacles to the fruition of his wiſhes. The unfortunate Mary fell a victim to the power and jealouſy of an eſtabliſhed ſovereign, who enjoyed an unlimited influence over the whole body of her proteſtant ſubjects; and the death of the firſt Charles aroſe from a mingled enthuſiaſm of religious and republican zeal in a party, fluſhed with repeated victories, and who had the whole power of the military in their

Ann. 1688. their hands; but even after the people were inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of that monarch could ſo little be deemed a national deed, that it was even deteſted by many of thoſe who had taken up arms againſt him; and the intereſts of the prelacy were ſo eſſentially wounded by that event, that from the firſt period of their re-eſtabliſhment, the moſt aſſiduous care had been taken to impreſs into the people's minds ſentiments and principles ſo diametrically oppoſite to all the exertions of natural right, that a kind of bigoted regal idolatry had, in general, taken place of that religious enthuſiaſm which ſo eminently prevailed in the commencement of the ſixteenth century. In the preſent conteſt for power there was ſo little hope of any material change in the form or conſtitution of the government, that the few republicans who remained were divided in their wiſhes in favour of a revolution in the perſon of king William; the more rational part of them dreading much more the influence and power of an active, ſubtle, ambitious, and politic prince, than the timid and weak ſway of a ſovereign, whoſe religion being the object of terror to nine-tenths of his ſubjects, muſt neceſſarily unite all the jarring factions which had long harraſſed the ſtate in ſuch a ſyſtem of meaſures as ſhould effectually ſecure the intereſt and peace of the proteſtant cauſe in general, and the civil and religious rights of the nation. Even according to Burnet, who is very evidently partial in this part of his hiſtory, the ſteps taken to frighten the king out of the kingdom, when he was on the point of ſubmitting to every required condition, were generally reſented by the people. It was publicly ſaid that the perſon of the king was ſtruck at as well as his government; that the prince's ſpecious undertaking would now appear to be only a diſguiſed and deſigned uſurpation; and that the poſting the Dutch guards

guards in the room of the Engliſh, gave a general diſguſt to the whole army. Burnet's account is confirmed by the greater number of cotemporary writers, and among others by the earl of Clarendon, who ſays that the treatment the king met with from the prince of Orange, and the manner of his being driven from Whitehall, moved compaſſion in ſome who were not very fond of him. Ann. 1688.

James lingered five days in England, ſwayed alternately by fear and hope, and unable to take the reſolution either of ſtaying in the kingdom, or leaving it. During this period he received a meſſage from the biſhop of Ely, in the name of his brethren, preſſing him to ſtay, and informing him that his enemies wiſhed he would take the unadviſed ſtep of retiring to France as much as his friends feared. It is even ſaid, that an Engliſh lord aſſured him that there were ten thouſand diſbanded ſoldiers about London who could be brought together in a few hours to fall on the Dutch troops, who were diſperſed in their quarters; and that he had a commiſſion from many officers, offering their ſervice for that end. James, who ſuſpected that this was a ſnare laid by his enemies, in order to juſtify violences on his perſon, returned anſwer, "You I know have honour; but thoſe who ſend you "have none." Before the king left Whitehall, he had ſent a meſſage, offering to put himſelf in the hands of the city, provided they would grant him a ſecurity for his perſon; with a promiſe to continue under their protection, till, by a free parliament, he had given full ſatisfaction to his people in the ſecurity of their religion, liberties, and properties. This offer was rejected, on the plea that it was out of the power of the city to afford the ſecurity required; and whilſt the king was at Rocheſter, the counteſs of Dorcheſter, by his ma- Dalrymple's Memoirs. Reresby's Memoirs.

Ann. 1688. majeſty's directions, applied to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Wincheſter, to know whether they, in concurrence with the reſt of their brethren, would receive and protect him. This offer meeting with no better ſucceſs than the preceding one, the king, as his laſt reſort, had recourſe to the earl of Danby; but this nobleman evaded compliance, by demanding what was out of the king's power to perform, viz. that he would bring a conſiderable party of proteſtants with him to aſſiſt in the defence of his perſon. James being thus convinced that no one body of his ſubjects would venture ſo far to offend the ruling powers as to undertake the preſervation of his life, very naturally concluded that the preſent liberty and indulgence he enjoyed was only extended with a view to his leaving the kingdom, and that it would be immediately withdrawn when it ſhould be perceived that his intentions were not to make that uſe of it. Theſe reflections renewed his former apprehenſions; and whilſt the alternate paſſions of fear and hope maintained an equal empire in his breaſt, and kept his mind in a wavering ſituation, a letter from the queen, inſiſting upon the honour of his promiſe to join her ſpeedily, determined his reſolution. This letter had been intercepted, opened, and carried to the prince, who took care that it ſhould be immediately forwarded to the king. Orders were now given to make the guard, which was ſlight before, ſtill ſlighter; and on the twenty-third of December, in the night, attended by the duke of Berwick and two other perſons, James went on horſeback to a ſmall veſſel which was prepared for him, to Ambleteuſe, in France, where he was treated by Lewis the Fourteenth in a manner which raiſes the generoſity of this monarch's character beyond any act of his reign.

The king takes refuge in France.

THE

THE enemies of James did not fail to make the moſt of the advantages they had gained by their ſubtle manœuvres. Some ſaid that the king's flight was the effect of a diſturbed conſcience, labouring under the load of ſecret guilt; and thoſe whoſe cenſures were more moderate, aſſerted that his incurable bigotry had led him even to ſacrifice his crown to the intereſts of his prieſts; and that he choſe rather to depend on the precarious ſupport of a French force to ſubdue the refractory ſpirit of his people, than to abide the iſſue of events which threatened ſuch legal limitations as ſhould effectually prevent any farther abuſe of power. Ann. 1688.

THE whole tenour of the king's paſt conduct undoubtedly gave a countenance to inſinuations which were in themſelves ſufficiently plauſible to anſwer all the purpoſes for which they were induſtriouſly circulated; but when the following circumſtances are taken into conſideration, viz. that timidity is natural to the human mind, when oppreſſed with an uninterrupted ſeries of misfortunes; that the king's life was put entirely into the hands of a rival, whoſe ambitious views were altogether incompatible with even the ſhadow of regal power in his perſon; that the means taken to increaſe the apprehenſions which reflections of this nature muſt neceſſarily occaſion, were of the moſt mortifying kind, it muſt be acknowledged that if the principles of heroic virtue might have produced a different conduct in ſome exalted individuals, yet that the generality of mankind would, in James's ſituation, have ſought ſhelter in the proffered generoſity of a truſted friend, from perſonal inſult, perſonal danger, and from all the harraſſing ſuſpence under which the mind of this imprudent and unfortunate monarch had long laboured.

Ann. 1688. Observations on the king's character and conduct.

THE oppoſition of James's religious principles to thoſe of his ſubjects; his unpopular connexion with the court of France; but, above all, the permanent eſtabliſhment of a rival family on the throne of England, has formed in his diſfavour ſuch an union of prejudice and intereſt as to deſtroy in the minds of poſterity all that ſympathy which on ſimilar occaſions, and in ſimilar misfortunes, has ſo wonderfully operated in favour of other princes; and whilſt we pay the tribute of unavailing tears over the memory of Charles the Firſt; whilſt, with the church of England, we venerate him as a martyr to the power and office of prelates; whilſt we ſee with regret, that he was ſtripped of his dignity and life at the very time when the chaſtening hand of affliction had in a great meaſure corrected the errors of a faulty education; the irreſiſtible power of truth muſt oblige us to confeſs that the ſame adherence to religious principle which coſt the father his life, deprived the ſon of his dominions; that the enormous abuſe of power with which both ſovereigns are juſtly accuſed, owed their origin to the ſame ſource, the errors ariſing from a bad education, aggravated and extended by the impious flattery of deſigning prieſts: we ſhall alſo be obliged to confeſs that the parliament itſelf, by an unprecedented ſervility, helped to confirm James in the exalted idea he had entertained of the royal office, and that the doctrines of an abſolute and unconditional ſubmiſſion on the part of ſubjects, which, in the reign of his father, was in a great meaſure confined to the precepts of a Laud, a Sibthorpe, and a Manwaring, were now taught as the avowed doctrines of the church of England, were acknowledged by the two univerſities, and implicitly avowed by the large majority of the nation. So great indeed was the change in the temper,

per, manners, and opinions of the people, from the commencement of the reign of Charles the Firſt to the commencement of the reign of his ſon James, that at this ſhameful period, the people gloried in having laid all their privileges at the foot of the throne, and execrated every generous principle of freedom, as ariſing from a ſpirit totally incompatible with the peace of ſociety, and altogether repugnant to the doctrines of Chriſtianity. Ann. 1688.

This was the ſituation of affairs at the acceſſion of the unfortunate James: and had he been equally unprincipled as his brother the deceaſed king; had he profeſſed himſelf a proteſtant, whilſt he was in his heart a papiſt; had he not regarded it as his duty to uſe his avowed omnipotent power for the reſtoring to ſome parts of its ancient dignity a church which he regarded as the only true church of Chriſt; or had he, inſtead of attacking the prerogatives of the prelacy, ſuffered them to ſhare that regal deſpotiſm which they had fixed on the baſis of conſcience, the moſt flagrant abuſes of civil power would never have been called in judgment againſt him; and parliaments themſelves would have lent their conſtitutional authority to have rivetted the chains of the empire in a manner as ſhould have put it out of the power of the moſt determined votaries of freedom to have re-eſtabliſhed the government on its ancient foundation. From this irremediable evil England owes its deliverance alone to the bigotted ſincerity of James; a circumſtance which ought, in ſome meaſure, to conciliate our affections to the memory of the ſufferer, and to treat thoſe errors with lenity, which have led to the enjoyment of privileges which can never be entirely loſt, but by a general corruption of principle and depravity of manners.

It

Ann. 1688. It was ſaid by the witty duke of Buckingham, that "Charles the Second might do well if he would," and that "James would do well if he could:" an obſervation which ſays little for the underſtanding of James, but a great deal for his heart; and with all the blemiſhes with which his public character is ſtained, he was not deficient in ſeveral qualities neceſſary to compoſe a good ſovereign. His induſtry to buſineſs was exemplary, he was frugal of the public money, he cheriſhed and extended the maritime power of the empire, and his encouragement of trade was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that, according to the obſervation of the impartial hiſtorian Ralph, as the frugality of his adminiſtration helped to increaſe the number of malecontents, ſo his extreme attention to trade was not leſs alarming to the whole body of the Dutch than his reſolution not to ruſh into a war with France was mortifying to their ſtadtholder.

In domeſtic life, the character of James, though not irreproachable, was comparatively good: it is true, he was in a great meaſure tainted with that licentiouſneſs of manners, which, at this time, pervaded the whole ſociety, and which reigned triumphant within the circle of the court; but he was never carried into any exceſſes which trenched deeply on the duties of ſocial life; and if the qualities of his heart were only to be judged by his conduct in the different characters of huſband, father, maſter, and friend, he might be pronounced a man of a very amiable diſpoſition. But thoſe who know not how to forgive injuries, and can never pardon the errors, the infirmities, the vices, or even the virtues of their fellow-creatures, when in any reſpect they affect perſonal intereſt or inclination, will arm againſt them the ſenſibility of every humane mind, and can never expect from

others that juſtice and commiſeration which themſelves have never exerciſed. But whilſt we execrate that rancorous cruelty with which James, in the ſhort hour of triumph, perſecuted all thoſe who endeavoured to thwart his ambitious hopes, it is but juſtice to obſerve, that the rank vices of pride, malice, and revenge, which ſo deeply blacken his conduct, whilſt he figured in the ſtation of preſumptive heir to the crown, and afterwards in the character of ſovereign on the ſucceſsful quelling the Monmouth rebellion, were thoroughly corrected by the chaſtening hand of affliction; that the whole period of his life, from his return from Ireland to the day of his death, was ſpent in the exerciſe of the firſt Chriſtian virtues, viz. patience, fortitude, humility, and reſignation. Brettonneau, his biographer, records, that he always ſpoke with an extreme moderation of the individuals who had acted the moſt ſucceſsfully in his diſfavour; that he reproved thoſe who mentioned their conduct with ſeverity; that he read, even with a Stoical apathy, the bittereſt writings which were publiſhed againſt him; that he regarded the loſs of empire as a neceſſary correction for the miſdemeanors of his life, and even rebuked thoſe who expreſſed any concern for the iſſue of events which he reſpected as ordinations of the Divine will. According to the ſame biographer, James was exact in his devotion, moderate even to abſtinence; in his life, full of ſentiments of the higheſt contrition for paſt offences; and, according to the diſcipline of the Romiſh church, was very ſevere in the auſterities which he inflicted on his perſon. As this prince juſtly regarded himſelf as a martyr to the Catholic faith, as his warmeſt friends were all of this perſuaſion, as his converſation in his retirement at St. Germains, was entirely in a great meaſure confined to prieſts and devotees, it is natural that his ſuperſtition ſhould increaſe

Ann. 1688.

Brettonneau's life of James the Second.

Ann. 1688. creaſe with the increaſe of religious ſentiment; and as he had made uſe of his power and authority, whilſt in England, to enlarge the number of proſelytes to popery, ſo in a private ſtation he laboured inceſſantly by prayer, exhortation, and example, to confirm the piety of his popiſh adherents, and to effect a reformation in thoſe who ſtill continued firm to the doctrines of the church of England. He viſited the monks of La Trappe once a year, the ſevereſt order of religioniſts in France; and his conformity to the diſcipline of the convent was ſo ſtrict and exact, that he impreſſed thoſe devotees with ſentiments of admiration at his piety, humility, and conſtancy. Thus having ſpent twelve years with a higher degree of peace and tranquillity than he had ever experienced in the moſt triumphant part of his life, he was ſeized with a palſy in September 1701, and after languiſhing fifteen days, died in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, having filled up the interval, between his firſt ſeizure and final exit, with the whole train of religious exerciſes enjoined on ſimilar occaſions by the church of Rome, with ſolemn and repeated profeſſions of his faith, and earneſt exhortations to his two children, the youngeſt of whom was born in the ſecond year of his exile, to keep ſtedfaſt to the religion in which they had been educated. Theſe precepts and commands have acted with a force ſuperior to all the temptations of a crown, and have been adhered to with a firmneſs which obliges an hiſtorian to acknowledge the ſuperiority which James's deſcendants, in the nice points of honour and conſcience, have gained over the character of Henry the Fourth, who, at the period when he was looked up to as the great hero of the proteſtant cauſe, made no ſcruple to accept a crown on the diſgraceful terms of abjuring the principles of the reformation, and embracing the principles of a religion, which,

from

from his early infancy, he had been taught to regard as idolatrous and prophane. Ann. 1688.

The dominion of error over the minds of the generality of mankind is irreſiſtible. James, to the laſt hour of his life, continued as great a bigot to his political as his religious errors: he could not help conſidering the ſtrength and power of the crown as a circumſtance neceſſary to the preſervation and happineſs of the people; and, in a letter of advice, which he wrote to his ſon, whilſt he conjures him to pay a religious obſervance to all the duties of a good ſovereign, he cautions him againſt ſuffering any entrenchment on royal prerogative. Among ſeveral heads, containing excellent inſtructions on the art of reigning happily and juſtly, he warns the young prince never to attempt to diſquiet his ſubjects in their property or their religion; and, what is very remarkable, to his laſt breath he perſiſted in aſſerting, that he never intended to ſubvert the laws, or procure more than a toleration and an equality of privilege to his catholic ſubjects. As there is great reaſon to believe this aſſertion to be true, it ſhews, that the deluſion was incurable under which the king laboured, by the truſt he had put in the knaviſh doctrines of lawyers and prieſts; and that neither himſelf, nor his proteſtant abettors, could fathom the conſequences of that enlarged ſyſtem of toleration which he endeavoured to eſtabliſh.

CHAP. VII.

Addreſſes for the prince of Orange to take on himſelf the adminiſtration of the government.—Affairs of Ireland.—State of opinions.—Meeting of the convention. Debates on the ſettlement of the nation.—Vote for the declaring the prince and princeſs of Orange king and queen.—Declaration of rights.—Arrival of the princeſs of Orange, her conduct and character.—Affairs of Scotland.—Obſervations on the revolution and the conduct of king William.

Ann. 1688. CUrioſity, and the eagerneſs of expectation, gave a temporary ſuſpenſion to the fermentation which the king's uſage had at firſt excited in the public. The eyes of men were now ſtedfaſtly fixed on the prince of Orange, and all factions hoped to find, in his future conduct, circumſtances which might prove favourable to their ſeveral intereſts and prejudices. On the very ſame day that the king was removed from Whitehall, the prince, after having ſufficiently provided for the ſafety of his perſon, by quartering his own guards in the Tower, and in different places about the town, with a magnificent train of courtiers took poſſeſſion of St. James's. This event had no ſooner taken place, than addreſſes flowed in from the city, the clergy, and all the different bodies of men, both ſecular and religious. The aſſembly of peers appeared ſo forward to ſecond the views of the prince, that they would not ſuffer his declaration to be read, nor yet a letter which the king had left on his table, in which he gave the circumſtances of his treatment from the prince, and his apparent deſigns of uſurping his authority, as

Addreſſes for the prince of Orange to take on himſelf the adminiſtration of the government.

reaſons for his withdrawing himſelf; in which he offers to return whenever ſuch a revolution in opinions ſhould take place as might enable him to do it with ſafety and honour, and in which he expreſſed a wiſh that a legal parliament might be called; and that among other things which might be thought neceſſary to be done, care ſhould be taken to give liberty of conſcience to all proteſtant diſſenters; and that thoſe of his own perſuaſion ſhould be ſo conſidered that they might live peaceably and quietly as Engliſhmen, and not be obliged to tranſport themſelves into a foreign country. According to the earl of Clarendon, who repeatedly moved, though in vain, for reading the prince of Orange's declaration, and for an enquiry into the birth of the prince of Wales, the peers at firſt inclined to aſſume the authority of ſettling the nation by themſelves; one queſtion was agitated, Whether the princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared queen? another, Whether thoſe members who were returned on the writs which had been iſſued out, ſhould meet at the time ſpecified in the writs? another, That an order ſhould be paſſed for the other election to be proceeded on, and the aſſembly to adjourn till the return was made. Many other matters were ſtarted; but, at length, it was determined by the majority, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the prince of Orange to take the adminiſtration of the government on himſelf, and that he ſhould, in his own name, call a convention of the eſtates, to meet on the 22d of January next following. Ann. 1688.

During theſe tranſactions of the peers, the prince and his partizans were employed in conſulting on the beſt methods to obtain the vacant throne. The lawyers, who from the narrow principles of their profeſſion, have always been found

Ann. 1688. found the worſt friends to the liberties of man, were, according to Burnet, generally of opinion, that the prince ſhould claim the crown by right of conqueſt, and declare himſelf king as Henry the Seventh had done. This event, they ſaid, would put an end to all diſputes which might otherwiſe grow very perplexing and tedious: that the prince might call a parliament, which would then be a legal aſſembly, if ſummoned by the king de facto, although his title was not recognized. Agreeable as was this advice, it was ſo deſtructive to all the principles of civil right, ſo inimical to the permanent eſtabliſhment of the prince's power, and ſo contrary to the plain words of his declaration, by which the ſettlement of the nation was to be left to the parliament, that it was, after ſome deliberation, rejected; and the prince, in order to obtain a more expreſs declaration of the public conſent for the taking on himſelf the adminiſtration of the government, ſummoned a meeting of all the members of the lower-houſe who had ſat in the three laſt parliaments of Charles the Second. As the majority of theſe parliaments had uniformly acted on the plan of excluding James from the throne of England, it was natural to imagine that they would heartily concur with the deſigns of the new government. Accordingly, they imitated the example which had been ſet by their ſuperiors, and after having choſen Mr. Powle for their ſpeaker, they repeated, in an addreſs to the prince, the requeſts which had been made by the peers.

THUS ſupported by all the legal authority which could at this juncture be obtained, the prince immediately exerciſed every act of government; and his adminiſtration was as peaceably ſubmitted to as if he had been regularly veſted with

with the ſupreme authority of the nation. The fleet received his orders, the army ſuffered him to new model them: on the authority of his letters, the counties and corporations of England proceeded to elect members to repreſent them in a convention of eſtates, which was to meet on the 22d of January; the placemen reſumed their functions; ſome diſorders which had ariſen in the revenue were rectified; the freedom of the preſs, on political ſubjects, was reſtrained by proclamation; Barillon, the French ambaſſador, was ordered to quit the kingdom; the Engliſh guards, and the reſt of the king's troops, were removed twenty miles from London; and with a view to give the city a pecuniary intereſt in the prince's ſucceſs, he borrowed from the corporation two hundred thouſand pounds, and met with a chearful compliance. Ann. 1688.

Affairs of Ireland.

Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland.

WHILST the bleſſings of peace were thus happily re-eſtabliſhed in England, without any effuſion of blood, Ireland exhibited a ſcene of a very different nature. The pride and inſolence of the papiſts, which had ariſen even to a frantic height on the birth of the prince of Wales, had received a ſevere ſhock from the unexpected turn which affairs had taken in England, after the landing of the prince of Orange; and the proteſtants, rouſed from their dejection on the intelligences which daily arrived of the low ſtate of the king's affairs, had formed the deſign of ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin: but the yet uncertain ſtate of things, the well known ſeverity of James, ſhould he be able to extricate himſelf from his difficulties, and the ſuperior ſtrength and advantage of the papiſts, operated on the minds of the majority, and induced more cautious and more timid counſels; a circumſtance which allowed to Tyrconnel a ſufficient time to take the

Ann. 1688. the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure to his party the poſſeſſion of their power and authority. Commiſſions, for levying forces, were granted to all thoſe who would accept them; and the popiſh clergy ſo well ſeconded the deſigns of their governor, and ſo ſtrictly enjoined their people to take arms in this time of danger, that in every quarter of the kingdom an armed rabble ſtarted up, who called themſelves the king's ſoldiers, and who, unpaid and unreſtrained by government, ſupported themſelves by open depredations. In the midſt of that tumult and diſorder which ſuch a ſituation of affairs muſt neceſſarily occaſion, a letter, addreſſed by an unknown perſon, to lord Mount Alexander, in the county of Downe, warned him of a general maſſacre intended by the Iriſh, and pointed out Sunday the 9th of December, as the preciſe time when this bloody deſign was to be executed, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition: the like intelligence was conveyed to ſeveral gentlemen in the northern provinces.

When the minds of men are once poſſeſſed of a forcible idea, every minute and trifling circumſtance helps to corroborate and confirm it: it was obſerved, that popiſh prieſts had announced to their congregations what they called a ſecret intention, and had enjoined them to ſtand ready armed to obey their orders; and it was remembered that a friar of Derry had preached with unuſual energy on the ſubject of Saul's deſtroying the Amalekites, and the iniquity of ſparing thoſe whom Divine vengeance had doomed to deſtruction; and if in England, where the large majority of the people are proteſtants, and at a period when the king had fled from the capital, and the prince of Orange at the head of a large army, had, in a manner, taken poſſeſſion of the govern-

government, the like intelligence had raiſed a general conſternation, no wonder it ſhould have had the moſt terrible effect on the apprehenſion of men already poſſeſſed with horror at Iriſh barbarity, who found themſelves expoſed to the inſolence and violence of a rancorous enemy, and who lived in thoſe places, where, in the memory of man, cruelties of a nature ſimilar to thoſe which were now threatened, had been actually perpetrated. Ann. 1688.

Lord Mount Alexander's letter was inſtantly conveyed to Dublin, and in a moment, the capital became a ſcene of uproar and confuſion; the lord deputy and his guards were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; the caſtle-bridge was drawn up, a tumultuous croud of men, women, and children, ran precipitately to the ſhore, imploring to be conveyed away from the daggers of the Iriſh; nor could any meaſures taken by the deputy, in the ſmalleſt degree, allay the ferment which the letter had raiſed in the minds of the proteſtants. The remonſtrances of two lords, whom he had ſent to aſſure them of ſecurity and protection, were drowned in clamorous ſhrieking and wailing; and ſuch was the terror and impatience of the frightened multitude, that they crouded the veſſels which lay in the harbour; nor could they be perſuaded to believe themſelves ſecure from the ſword of the enemy till they had loſt ſight of the hoſtile ſhore.

The intelligence of the intended maſſacre was ſoon conveyed to every part of Ireland, and every where produced the ſame conſternation which it had occaſioned in the capital; crouds of fugitives gained the coaſt, and were tranſported to England; others ſought ſhelter in walled towns and proteſtant

Ann. 1688. teſtant ſettlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of Iriſh plunderers.

On the firſt alarm of an invaſion of England by the prince of Orange, Tyrconnel had recalled to Dublin the garriſon of Londonderry, a city ſituated in the North of Ireland; but ſoon perceiving the error of leaving a town of ſuch importance to the government of the townſmen, he detached thither the earl of Antrim's regiment, conſiſting entirely of papiſts, Iriſh, and Highlanders; and at the very moment when the inhabitants of Londonderry had received the informations of an intended maſſacre, and were deliberating on meaſures of ſafety, a meſſenger arrived from Limavaddy, a village within twelve miles diſtance, that a body of twelve hundred men, tall and terrible in their aſpect, diſorderly and turbulent in their conduct, and who ſeemed rather the inſtruments of ſlaughter and barbarity, than the regular forces of government, were on their march to take up their quarters in Londonderry.

Conſultations immediately took place; the biſhop of Londonderry, agreeable to the principles of the prelacy, adviſed peace and ſubmiſſion; but whilſt the principal inhabitants were yet deliberating whether to admit or to exclude the popiſh forces, the troops approached. Two of their officers were already in the town to provide quarters, and an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the Ferry Gate: in this critical moment nine young men of the populace, with an enthuſiaſtic ardour, drew their ſwords, ſnatched up the keys of the city, raiſed the draw-bridge, locked the Ferry Gate, ſecured the other poſts, and being in-

inſtantly joined by numbers of their own rank, they aſ- Ann. 1688.
ſembled in the great ſquare, and ſeized the magazines.

This brave and well-timed ſpirit of the populace was ſoon countenanced and applauded by men of better condition; the body of inhabitants declared for a reſolute defence; the town was immediately filled by a conflux of proteſtants from the neighbouring diſtricts; and Phillips of Limavaddy, the man who firſt adviſed the citizens to exclude the popiſh forces, was choſen their governor.

As the magazine of Londonderry afforded but few arms and a ſmall quantity of ammunition, it was not probable that the inhabitants ſhould long maintain their independence againſt the power of the deputy. To their friends in London they immediately tranſmitted an account of their dangers and proceedings: and Cairnes, the moſt conſiderable of their party, was commiſſioned to ſolicit ſuccours from the prince of Orange, who had alſo been requeſted by the different aſſemblies of peers and commons to ſhow a very particular attention to the dangerous ſituation of the Iriſh proteſtants.

Had a large body of Engliſh troops been immediately ſent over, or had the Engliſh fleet been properly employed or ſtationed, it is no doubt but Ireland would have been taken out of the hands of the papiſts without any expence of blood or treaſure; but William was too much of a politician to ſuffer his enthuſiaſm for the ſecurity of the proteſtant intereſt to interfere with the grand object in view. By the advice of the marquiſs of Halifax, who perſuaded him that the leaving Ireland in its preſent ſtate of danger would be

Ann. 1688. means to bring the convention of England to a more ſpeedy ſettlement of the government in his perſon, he rejected all the earneſt applications of the Iriſh, made to him through the earl of Clarendon, for a ſpeedy ſupply; and by the means of lieutenant-general Hamilton, an Iriſh officer and a papiſt, entered into a treaty with the earl of Tyrconnel for the ſurrender of the government. This treaty, which was ſet on foot by the papiſts merely for the purpoſe of gaining time, proved an ineffectual bar to that relief which the Iriſh proteſtants had ſo earneſtly implored. Tyrconnel was confirmed in his reſolution of ſupporting the authority of James, by the advice and repreſentations of Hamilton, who aſſured him that a great turn of opinions had taken place in England in favour of the fugitive monarch; and in order to gain farther time, the lord Mountjoy, a proteſtant nobleman, in conjunction with the chief baron Rice, was ſent over to France on the pretence of repreſenting to James the weak condition of the papiſts in Ireland, and the neceſſity of yielding to the times, rather than exaſperating yet farther his Engliſh ſubjects by a futile attempt to conquer England by his Iriſh forces. On the arrival of Mountjoy in Paris he was immediately committed to the Baſtile, and meaſures were taken into conſideration for the preparing a large force to attend James in an expedition for the total reduction of the Iriſh proteſtants.

Before the departure of Mountjoy, he had ſtipulated with Tyrconnel that during his abſence on the commiſſion to James, no new levies ſhould be made, no arms or commiſſions given out, no perſons impriſoned, no private houſes diſturbed with ſoldiers, and no more troops commanded into Ulſter: but Tyrconnel now poſitively denied theſe ſtipulations;

pulations; and the arms yet remaining in the hands of pro- Ann. 1688.
teſtants within the diſtrict of his power, were wreſted from them by his ſoldiers, their perſons were inſulted, their horſes ſeized, and their houſes plundered.

On aſſurances given by James that he would ſoon appear in Ireland with a powerful armament, Tyrconnel turned his attention towards the northern aſſociators, who had proceeded ſo far as to proclaim William and Mary king and queen in all the capital north-eaſtern towns. A proclamation, commanding them to lay down their arms, was ſubſcribed by lord Grenard, and other proteſtant counſellors; and on their refuſal to pay obedience, general Hamilton was ſent againſt them with ſo formidable a body of troops, that they were every where put to the rout, were purſued with great ſlaughter, and were deprived of every ſtrong hold, except the two towns of Derry and Enniſkillen, whoſe inhabitants, with a courage and reſolution which equals every deed of magnanimity to be met with either in ancient or modern ſtory, defended themſelves againſt the whole force of the government, ſupported by a large French armament; till after a variety of diſappointments, which reduced them to the brink of deſpair, they were at length relieved from their multiplied diſtreſſes by the ſucceſs which attended the arms of William at the famous battle of the Boyne.

Thus, from a very blameable neglect, the critical moment was loſt which might, at a trifling expence, have preſerved Ireland without the effuſion of proteſtant blood; a circumſtance of conduct ſo highly reſented by ſeveral of the Iriſh in London, that they intimated a reſolution of compromiſing matters with James, if he ſhould offer them good

Ann. 1688. terms; and a circumſtance of conduct which, on proper management, might have afforded an opportunity to the fugitive monarch, not only to preſerve his power in Ireland, but, by a coalition of parties in his favour, to remount that throne which his timidity had occaſioned him to deſert.

Dalrymple's Appendix. ACCORDING to the earl of Dartmouth, William's political reaſons for the neglect of Ireland extended farther than the haſtening the reſolution of the convention of eſtates in his favour: he was told by lord Halifax that if Ireland was quiet, there would remain no pretence for keeping up an army; and he might, in this caſe, be turned out as eaſily as he was brought in. It is certain that the ſuſpicion that Ireland was neglected on political reaſons, and that the war in this country was wilfully miſmanaged for the double purpoſe of retaining a large army on foot, and of fomenting the diſcord which ſubſiſted between the French and Engliſh, made a great impreſſion on thoſe Whigs who were the moſt determined partizans for a revolution of the government in the perſon of William. Indeed the miſmanagement of the Iriſh affairs was ſo groſs, that it became the ſubject of parliamentary cenſure; and the nation, which at this time was not accuſtomed to the weight and burthen of enormous taxes, were, in general, diſcontented at the unneceſſary waſte of treaſure and blood, which they incurred from the perverſe conduct, or the ſubtle policy of their new ſovereign.

State of opinions. DURING the interval between the flight of James and the meeting of the convention, the ſpirit of faction operated with its uſual violence and malignity: three diſtinct parties were formed, one of which was for calling the king back and treat-

treating with him on the terms of a full ſecurity to law, religion, and liberty; the ſecond were for preſerving the title of king to the fugitive monarch, and putting the government into the hands of a regent; and the third, which conſiſted moſtly of thoſe who expected favours from William, or who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their oppoſition to James, were for ſetting him and his family quite aſide, and placing the prince of Orange on the throne. Ann. 1688.

Such a vindication of law and natural right as the putting limits to the abuſed power of a reigning monarch, is undoubtedly more concordant to the genuine ſpirit of liberty than that adopted by the prince of Orange's partizans, becauſe the extinction of power in a particular reigning family, has often been effected by the impatience of ſlaves; whereas the aſſerting the authority of the people over the power of a reigning ſovereign, has never been effected but by free nations, and is the higheſt triumph of popular liberty, becauſe it is the higheſt vindication of thoſe independent rights, on the eſtabliſhment of which, in the minds of both ſubject and ſovereign, the bleſſings of freedom can alone be rendered permanent: yet ſuch are the contradictions to which ignorance, bigotry, credulity, and the rage of oppoſition, expoſe the human character, that thoſe who abetted the opinion of continuing the government in the perſon of James were all of the high-church party, who had carried the point of ſubmiſſion and non-reſiſtance to the higheſt poſſible length. However, they were ſoon argued out of their notions, and fell into the ſcheme of a regency, in which the high monarchical men flattered themſelves they had united both principle and expediency.

Though

Ann. 1688. THOUGH the elections for repreſentatives were managed with great fairneſs, yet, from the preſent temper of the nation, thoſe men were, in general, choſen who had acted with the higheſt ſpirit for the excluſion of James in the three laſt parliaments of Charles the Second; a circumſtance very little favourable to the plans which had been fondly formed by the friends of James for the continuance of the direct line of ſucceſſion; and though the majority of the upper houſe were greatly in favour of the ſcheme of a regency, yet, by the management of the marquiſs of Halifax, who was placed in the chair, and who was determined to make up by his zeal for former deficiencies, no reſolution was paſſed on the ſubject for which they were aſſembled, till the opinion of the commons was known.

Clarendon's Diary.

Meeting of the convention.

THE convention had been opened by a letter from the prince, in which he recommended to them the providing for their religion, laws, and liberties, in which he reminded them of the unſettled ſtate of Ireland, and more particularly of the perils to which the Dutch were expoſed from the want of their forces to defend their country, and in which he even expreſſed his expectation that they would aſſiſt his countrymen in the war which France had declared againſt them during his ſtay in England.

Debates on the ſettlement of the nation.

Hume, Dalrymple, Grey's debates.

THE convention, wholly intent on the great object of ſettling the domeſtic concerns of the empire, in their addreſs to the prince, kept a profound ſilence on the ſubject of foreign intereſts; and, after requeſting his highneſs to continue his adminiſtration till they ſhould make a farther application to him, they adjourned for a few days, and the commons appointed

pointed the twenty-eighth of the month for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation. Ann. 1688.

THOUGH the large majority of the lower houſe were for an entire excluſion of James and his infant ſon from the royal dignity, yet as it is the lot of very few individuals to underſtand, in a clear and determinate ſenſe, the true principles of government and ſubjection, the debates on the queſtion concerning the fugitive monarch having forfeited his right of ſovereignty, ran into length. Thoſe who were termed the republican party among the Whigs, inſiſted that James, for his miſconduct, ought to be arraigned by a formal accuſation, and depoſed by a regular ſentence; others contented themſelves with maintaining the exiſtence of an original contract between prince and people, which, when broke or infringed by a non-obſervance of law on the part of the ſovereign, the people are reſtored to their original liberty; whilſt others again, who were of a more monarchical turn, kept clear of thoſe points of argument which reſpect the right of ſubjects to depoſe their princes, and contended that the king's flight was equivalent to a voluntary renunciation of the government. Theſe different opinions of the Whigs and Republicans all centered in one point, that the throne was become vacant; and in the choice of the perſon to fill the vacancy, ſome pointed at the prince, and ſome at the princeſs of Orange.

THE Tories, who were much inferior in their numbers to the Whigs and Republicans, deprecated the ideas of depoſition and election as breaking in upon the principle of the ſacred nature of indefeaſible right, which they had ſo ſtrenuouſly and fatally aſſerted during the two laſt reigns. They inſiſted on the

rule

Ann. 1688. rule which the convention parliament, in 1660, had ſo abſurdly eſtabliſhed by their flattery to Charles the Second, that the throne is never vacant, but upon the death of one king is inſtantly filled with another: but falling in with the idea of a regency, they acknowledged that the crown was in a ſtate of inability, as much as if James had been in a condition of lunacy or nonage; they readily concurred with the Whigs in a reſolution of the houſe that a papiſt was incapable of exerciſing the regal government; and they propoſed that a regent ſhould be appointed to act during James's life, as was the cuſtom when the king was incapable of performing the duties of his office †.

ALTHOUGH the Tory party were inferior in their numbers to the Whigs and Republicans, yet ſuch was the temporizing ſpirit of men's minds, and with ſuch eagerneſs did the Whigs ſeize on the opportunity of excluding James and his infant ſon from the regal government, that waving, or rather ſacrificing, thoſe ſound principles of domeſtic policy which form the permanent foundations of liberty, they ſent up a kind of compromiſing vote, which was contained in the following words: that king James the Second having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and having, by the advice of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the king-

† It is remarkable that in the courſe of this debate, the Whigs, from their great zeal to the prince of Orange, paid him the compliment of deſiring him to ſend circular letters for the filling up the vacancies of the houſe; and that the Tories denied the parliament to be a true repreſentation of the people, as the lords could only repreſent their own body; and that a very ſmall part of the nation had the privilege of election. Grey's Debates.

dom, has abdicated the government; and that the throne is thereby become vacant. Ann. 1688.

As this vote of the commons was carried up by Mr. Hamden, it gave rise to many reflections on the inſtability of human affairs, and thoſe ſudden viciſſitudes from adverſity to proſperity, and from proſperity to adverſity, to which the unhappy ſons of earth are liable. Men could not help remarking that the Stuart and the Hamden families furniſhed a ſtriking example for contemplation on the awful diſpenſations of Providence, which, within the ſhort ſpace of one century, had confounded the pride and glory of two princes in the poſſeſſion of an empire eſtabliſhed on the firm foundations of opinion, precedent, cuſtom, and all thoſe advantages which attend the enjoyment of power; which had raiſed a people from the abyſs of ſlavery to the higheſt point of national liberty; had again, from the abuſe of this bleſſing, ſubjected it to all the miſeries of deſpotic ſway; and now, by a gracious reinſtatement of public privilege and private felicity, had permitted the bill for the dethronement of the king in the name of the people of England, to the aſſembly of peers, to be preſented by a man whoſe life had been brought into danger both by James and his brother, and whoſe grand-father was the firſt who ſhook the throne of the Stuart race.

As it was merely in revenge for the king's prediliction in favour of the papiſts, with the graces ſhewn on political motives to the nonconformiſts, which had occaſioned the Tories and high-church men to promote the national revolt, their apprehenſions of the power and prejudices of James were no ſooner allayed by his misfortunes, than theſe ma-

Ann. 1688. lignant factions, aſhamed of the triumph which their antagoniſts, the Whigs, had gained over their doctrines of non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, endeavoured, in ſome meaſure, to reconcile the neceſſity of the preſent occaſion with the notion of a ſacred indefeaſible right; and on theſe grounds they entered warmly into the ſcheme of a regency, and were as warmly ſeconded by all James's friends, who hoped by ſuch means to procure an opportunity for the re-eſtabliſhment of the government in the perſon of the king. The vote of the commons was followed by a very warm debate, in which the Tories, agreeable to the opinion they had held in the debates for excluding James from the throne, which had taken place in the reign of Charles the Second, continued to aſſert that by the uniform tenour of the Engliſh laws, the right of the crown was ever regarded ſacred, and could, on no account, and by no mal-adminiſtration, be forfeited by the ſovereign; in which they argued, that to dethrone a king, and to elect his ſucceſſor, was a practice quite unknown to the conſtitution, and had a tendency to render the divine office and power of kingſhip entirely dependant and precarious. It is true, they ſaid, that where the prince, from his tender years, from lunacy, or from other natural infirmity, was incapacitated to hold the reins of government, both the laws and former practice agreed in appointing a regent, who, during the interval, was inveſted with the whole power of the adminiſtration. It was true that the inveterate and dangerous prejudices of king James had rendered him as unfit to ſway the Engliſh ſceptre, as if he had fallen into a ſtate of lunacy; and it was therefore natural for the people to have recourſe to the ſame remedy. On the ſubject of the expedient propoſed by the commons, it was to be obſerved that the election of one king was a pre-

cedent

cedent for the election of another; and the government, by that means, would either degenerate into a republic, or, what was worſe, into a turbulent and ſeditious monarchy; and the caſe was ſtill more dangerous, if there remained a prince who claimed the crown by right of ſucceſſion, and diſputed on ſo plauſible a ground the title of the preſent ſovereign. The belief of the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, if not true in every poſſible inſtance, was yet extremely expedient; and to eſtabliſh a government which ſhould have the contrary principle for its baſis, was to lay the foundation of perpetual revolutions and convulſions: it was true, that the appointment of a regent was expoſed to many inconveniencies, but ſo long as the line of ſucceſſion continued uninterrupted, there was ſtill a proſpect of putting an end ſome time or other to the public diſorders; but that ſcarce any inſtance occurred in the hiſtory of England, where a diſputed title had not in the iſſue been attended with much greater ills, than all thoſe which the people had ſought to ſhun, by departing from the lineal ſucceſſion. Ann. 1688.

The leaders of that party who were for electing a ſucceſſor to James, aſſerted, that if there was any ill in ſuch a precedent, this ill would reſult as much from the eſtabliſhing a regent, as from the dethroning one king and appointing his ſucceſſor; nor would the one expedient, if wantonly and raſhly embraced by the people, be leſs the ſource of public convulſions than the other. They argued, that the ſame laws which forbid the depoſing a ſovereign, did likewiſe forbid the reſiſting his authority, or ſeparating his power from his title: they obſerved, that a regent was unknown in the government of the country, except where the prince, by reaſon of his tender age, or his infirmities, was

Ann. 1688. incapable of a will, and, in that caſe, his will was ſuppoſed to be involved in that of the regent; and they inſiſted, that it would be the heighth of abſurdity to try a man for acting upon a commiſſion received from a prince, who was acknowledged to be the lawful ſovereign; and that no jury, conſidering the principle on which a regent was to be eſtabliſhed, would decide ſo contrary both to law and common ſenſe, as to condemn ſuch a criminal. Even the proſpect of being delivered from this monſtrous inconvenience, they ſaid, was, in the preſent ſituation of things, more diſtant than that of putting an end to a diſputed ſucceſſion: that were the legitimacy of the young prince to be allowed, he was now abroad, and would be educated in principles deſtructive of the conſtitution and eſtabliſhed religion, and he would, probably, leave a ſon liable to the ſame inſuperable objection; whereas, if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget or neglect it, an advantage which could not be hoped for while the adminiſtration was conducted in their name, and while they were ſtill acknowledged to poſſeſs the legal title. In concluſion to theſe arguguments, it was aſſerted, that a nation perpetually governed by regents, or protectors, approached much nearer to a republic than one ſubject to monarchs, whoſe hereditary regular ſucceſſion, as well as preſent authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

If the Tories had been all united in the ſcheme of a regency, they would have prevailed by a large majority; but ſome of them were inclined to place the princeſs of Orange ſingly on the throne, and others were for inveſting her with the office of regent. The firſt party was conducted by lord Danby, whoſe politics were partly influenced from reſentment.

ment at ſome ungenerous deſigns which it was ſuppoſed the prince had entertained in prejudice to his wife's title, and partly by a diſappointment which he found he was to receive from the prince, in the hopes he had formed of regaining the treaſurer's ſtaff. At the head of the ſecond party figured the earl of Nottingham; who, whilſt he deprecated with great warmth the rational idea of an original contract between king and people, as a notion which had paved the way for the overthrow of monarchy in the laſt reign, and inveighed againſt the Tories in the houſe of commons for having gone too far in their conceſſions to the Whigs, had the addreſs to ſecure the future favour of the prince, by telling Burnet, that though he could not argue or vote but according to the ſcheme and principles which he had conceived concerning the laws and conſtitution, yet he ſhould not be ſorry to ſee his ſide outvoted; and that though he could not agree to the making a king, as things ſtood, yet if he found one made, he ſhould be more faithful to him than thoſe who made him could be according to their own principles. Ann. 1688.

The chief ſpeakers for the expediency of a regent, were, Clarendon, Rocheſter, and Nottingham; thoſe for the total excluſion of James, the earl of Danby, and the marquis of Halifax, who, in the reign of Charles the Second, had raiſed himſelf to truſt and power, by having eminently figured on the other ſide of the queſtion, which was now carried for a king by two voices only. All the prelates, except two, the biſhops of London and Briſtol, voted for a regent; whilſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who could not be perſuaded to ſacrifice his principles to the popular opinion, or to incur the reſentment of power, by a vigorous oppoſition

to

Ann. 1688. to the ambitious views of the prince, had kept at a diſtance both from the court and the parliament.

Lord Nottingham, who imagined that the majority of the Tories would vote for a regency, had begun the debate on the vote of the commons, at that point where the commons had ſtopped by putting the queſtion, Whether a regency, with the adminiſtration of regal power, and the ſtile of king James the Second, during the life of that king, would be the beſt and ſafeſt way to preſerve the proteſtant religion and the laws of the kingdom? And when the vote of the commons came to be debated, article by article, on the firſt queſtion, Whether there was an original contract between king and people? it was found, according to what lord Nottingham had preſaged, that the Tories were more divided in their opinion on this queſtion than on the other; for many rationally thought they could not juſtify to themſelves, or to others, their late reſiſtance, unleſs upon the ſuppoſition, that James had firſt infringed his duties to them; and, accordingly, the queſtion, That there was an original contract between king and people was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of ſeven; the numbers being fifty-three to forty-ſix. On the ſecond queſtion, Whether king James had broken that original contract? the affirmative, after a ſlight oppoſition, prevailed. The word abdicated, in the vote of the commons, was carried by the Tories for the word deſerted; and on the concluding queſtion, Whether king James having broken the original contract, and deſerted the government, the throne was become vacant? the party having been joined by the earl of Danby, who argued, that the right of James was at an end by his deſertion, and that of the young prince by his illegitimacy, and the throne not being vacant, was filled

filled by the lineal heir, the princeſs of Orange; it was carried on a diviſion by fourteen voices, to omit the laſt article with regard to the vacancy of the throne †. Ann. 1688.

When the vote thus amended was ſent back to the commons, the Whigs began to exert more vigour and warmth than they had manifeſted in the examination of the ſtate of the nation. They reproached themſelves with having ſhewn too great a complacency for the perverſe prejudices of the Tories, and thus had afforded means for that quibbling ſubtlety which had appeared in the debates of the upper-houſe: they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the words of their vote, and ſent up reaſons why the lords ſhould depart from their amendments. The lords were not convinced, and a free conference enſued, in which the managers of the commons, inſtead of plainly ſpeaking out, and ſhewing, by the recent example of the two laſt reigns, that thoſe pernicious and irrational principles of government, which had taken riſe from the acrimony of faction in the life of Charles the Firſt, and had been ſince nouriſhed by the intereſted ambition of churchmen, were equally noxious to the tranquillity and ſafety of the prince, as to the ſecurity and preſervation of the people, and the conſtitutional government of the country, inſtead of deprecating notions and principles which muſt ever militate againſt an uniform attention to the ſacred direction of laws

† It is to be obſerved, that a vote for a king, inſtead of a regent, had been carried againſt James's party, merely by the abſence of archbiſhop Sancroft, and by the abſence of the lords Huntingdon, Mulgrave, and Churchill, on the pretence that they could not vote any way without putting an indignity on their late maſter: but in the ſhort interval between the paſſing this vote and the preſent inſtance, lord Mulgrave had ſo widely departed from this delicacy of conduct, as to be among the liſt of thirty-ſeven who entered a proteſt againſt the reſolution of the lords that the throne was not vacant.

Ann. 1688. and popular privileges on the ſide of the prince, and an uniform defence of natural and political rights on the ſide of the people, they condeſcended to inſiſt on topics equally frivolous to thoſe inſiſted on by the lords; and, as none of the diſputants would openly and fairly avow either their real intentions, or the nature and extent of the principles on which they acted, the arguments uſed on both ſides in this important national debate, more reſembled the verbal diſputes of the ſchool than the ſolid reaſoning of ſtateſmen and legiſlators. As the Whigs had ſhewn ſo much deference to their new allies the Tories, as not to inſiſt that the crown ſhould be declared forfeited on account of the king's mal-adminiſtration, but had confounded together the king's abuſing his power, and his withdrawing from the kingdom, and had called the whole an abdication, as if he had given a virtual, though not a verbal conſent to his dethronement; the Tories, taking advantage of this obvious impropriety, inſiſted upon the word *deſertion* as more ſignificant and intelligent: but, as this expreſſion, however juſtly applied to the king's withdrawing himſelf, could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws of the government, the commons inſiſted on the greater force and meaning of the word *abdication*. It was now urged by the managers for the lords, that even if the king's abuſe of power was judged to be equivalent to an abdication, or in other words, to a civil death, it could operate no otherwiſe than by his voluntary reſignation, or his natural death, and could only make way for the next ſucceſſor. It was a maxim, they ſaid, of Engliſh law, that the throne was never vacant, but, inſtantly, upon the deceaſe of one king, it was filled with his legal heir, who was intitled to all the authority of his predeceſſor; and, however, young and unfit for government

ment was the ſucceſſor, however unfortunate in his ſituation, Ann. 1688.
were he even a captive in the hands of public enemies, yet no juſt reaſon could be aſſigned why, without any default of his own, he ſhould loſe a crown to which by birth he was fully entitled. Solid as were the arguments which might have been oppoſed to this ſpecies of reaſoning, viz. that all private intereſts of power ought to give way to public good; that the community has a right to take the means which are thought neceſſary for its own preſervation, and, conſequently, to put the government into ſuch hands as they can confide in; yet the managers for the commons, to avoid acknowledging by any implication the legitimacy of the infant prince, and principally becauſe ſuch arguments contained too expreſs a condemnation of Tory principles, endeavoured to maintain the vote of the lower-houſe by ſhifts and evaſions. Both ſides parted without any agreement, and, according to the lord Clarendon, the triumph of argument belonged to the lords. Clarendon's Diary.

AFTER the two houſes had thus differed concerning the vacancy of the crown, the individuals of which they were compoſed made an appeal for their conduct to the public. The people entered into the diſpute with all that animoſity which ever attends political ſubjects in England: all the noiſe and virulence of party jargon was renewed, and notwithſtanding the timid caution of the Whig party among the commons, and the proteſtation of the peers, that they never intended to truſt the helm of government in the hands of the fugitive monarch, the Tories exclaimed, that the Whigs, looking forward to futurity, intended to make the monarchy elective, or to eſtabliſh a republic; and the Whigs, that the Tories wiſhed to revive their darling doc-

Ann. 1688. trines of non-reſiſtance, and to replace James on the throne. In the courſe of the diſpute it was found, that the voice of the Whigs prevailed, and the mob, whom the partizans of the prince of Orange had inflamed with apprehenſions of the dangers attending the kingdom in its preſent diſtracted ſtate, from an Iriſh army of papiſts, and the withdrawing the Dutch troops for the ſervice of their country againſt the French, and moreover inſtigated by the intereſted zeal of lord Lovelace, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and preſented petitions to both houſes of convention, for the ſettling the prince and princeſs of Orange upon the throne. Theſe tumults, if they had been properly encouraged, would, undoubtedly, have ariſen to an infringement of the freedom of parliament; but the prince of Orange, not caring to accept in ſuch a way a power, which muſt infallibly fall into his hands in a more regular manner, iſſued out a proclamation for ſtopping theſe diſorderly proceedings; and the two houſes continued to amuſe themſelves and the public with ineffectual meſſages and as ineffectual conferences.

During the courſe of theſe debates, the prince of Orange had affected to obſerve the utmoſt indifference, and to avoid the imputation of forming cabals with the leaders of parties, he diſdained even to beſtow careſſes on thoſe whoſe aſſiſtance might be uſeful to him: but whilſt ſome of his followers, who were on a footing of intimacy with him, induſtriouſly gave out, that he was ſo void of ambition that it would be found difficult to perſuade him to accept the crown, others, and in particular his intimate friend Bentinck, endeavoured to bring about, by his intrigues, the placing his maſter alone on the throne; but the intention was at length laid aſide as impracticable.

Clarendon's Diary.

impracticable, on a check firſt given by Burnet, to whom the intention was prematurely communicated, and who warmly expoſtulated againſt a ſelfiſh ambition, which would ſully all the glory of the prince's expedition, and who declared, that rather than tamely ſuffer ſuch an inſtance of ingratitude to the princeſs, for the generous ſacrifice ſhe had made to her huſband's intereſts, he would leave the prince's ſervice, in order to oppoſe with vigour his deſigns. Secondly, in a more important manner, at a conſultation of the prince's party, which was held at admiral Herbert's lodging, where the admiral, who was confined by the gout, ſtarted from his bed at the propoſition made by Bentinck, and declared, that if he had foreſeen ſuch a deſign, he would never have declared for the prince. Thirdly, at a great meeting at the earl of Devonſhire's, where the aſſembly was broken up in great heat by the lord Danby, on Fagel's declaring that he believed the prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman-uſher. And laſtly, in the courſe of the debates, in the lower-houſe, by ſeveral of the friends of a revolution, declaring ſentiments ſimilar to thoſe which had fallen from Burnet, concerning the ſullying the honour of the prince's character. Ann. 1688.

The prince and his partizans having thus failed in this important attempt, the next ſcheme entered into was the placing the adminiſtration ſolely in the prince, and many abſurd things were ſaid on the legal ſubjection of wives to huſbands; and though this kind of doctrine was ſtrengthened by arguments reſpecting the great gratitude which the nation owed to her deliverer, yet the prince had the mortification to find, that ſeveral of thoſe individuals who appeared the moſt zealouſly attached to his cauſe, were the leaſt at-

Ann. 1688. tached to his ambition. Sir Edward Seymour, who had ſet on foot the aſſociation at Exeter, ſpoke with great warmth againſt the vacancy of the throne, and for a ſettlement by a regent; and ſome of the Whigs, and in particular the judicious patriotic Hamden, were for laying ſuch reſtrictions, either on the authority of king or regent, as would have reduced the offices in a manner altogether incompatible with the views of the prince; who, after having experienced in ſilence all thoſe keen ſenſations which can be ſuppoſed to ariſe from diſappointed ambition, or the ſenſe of ſervices ill-requited, now determined to put an end to the procraſtinations of the convention, and to bring the jarring parties to ſome determination in his favour, or leave them to the ſettlement of their own differences, and to the mercy of a ſovereign they had offended. With this view he called together Danby, Halifax, Shrewſbury, and a few others of equal eminence, and told them, that he having been invited over by the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of all ranks to reſtore the liberty of the nation, he had undertaken the enterprize, and had at laſt happily effected his purpoſe. He had not hitherto interfered in the debates of parliament, leſt he might have appeared to interrupt its freedom; but he muſt now ſpeak out: ſome he heard propoſed to ſettle the government in the hands of a regent during the king's life. He had no objection, it might be a wiſe project; but if he was the perſon intended for the office, he thought proper to let them know that he would not be the regent: others, he underſtood, were for placing the princeſs ſingly on the throne, and that he ſhould reign by her courteſy. There was no man could eſteem a woman more than he did the princeſs, but he was ſo conſtituted, that he could not think of holding power by the will of a woman, nor conſent to have any ſhare in the government, unleſs it

was put in his perſon, and that for the term of his life; and if they did think fit to ſettle it otherwiſe, he would not oppoſe their reſolutions, but he ſhould go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs; for whatſoever others might think of a crown, it had no ſuch charms in his eyes. Ann. 1688.

As it was highly improbable, that a houſe of peers, the majority of whom had called in the aſſiſtance of a foreign force againſt the tyranny of their ſovereign; who had ordered a thankſgiving for the delivery of the nation from popery and arbitrary power; who had ſuſpended the prayers for James in their houſe; who had concurred with the commons that the nation could not be governed by a popiſh king; who had refuſed to receive a letter, which James had ſent them over from France; and who had given orders that the anniverſary thankſgiving for his ſucceſſion, on the enſuing 6th of February, ſhould be diſcontinued, ſhould reſtore the offended monarch to a ſtate which would enable him to retaliate ſeverely for the injuries he had received: or, that a houſe of commons, who had voted the throne vacant, ſhould ever concur in ſuch an undertaking. The prince's declaration, therefore, in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of parties, with the peculiar diſpoſition and temper of the princeſs of Orange, acted as powerfully towards reſtraining the inclinations of both houſes, as if a more apparent force had been uſed. The lords again entered into a debate on the vote of the commons. The dukes of Southampton, Grafton, and others, who had voted for a regency, contrived to be abſent on the occaſion; others were brought on their crutches to forward the deſired ſettlement; and Crew, the obnoxious biſhop of Durham, who was lurking on the ſea-coaſt for a veſſel to ſecure him a retreat. Dalrymple's Memoirs.

Ann. 1688. treat to France, hearing there was now an opportunity to cancel the remembrance of paſt offences, by preſent ſervices, returned to London to vote againſt a maſter who had raiſed him, and who ſolely owed his misfortunes to the being ſurrounded by ſycophants and time-ſervers as deſpicable as himſelf.

By theſe managements a vote was carried to depart from the amendments, and to concur with the vote of the commons, by a majority of fifteen voices; the earl of Danby, at this criſis, contending with as much warmth for the neceſſity of acknowledging that vacancy which he had before as warmly denied. It was next debated, how the vacancy of the throne ſhould be filled; when the marquis of Halifax, who, on the ſucceſs of the prince's enterprize, had been as violent in his zeal for his perſonal intereſt, as he had been lukewarm in that public cauſe which he now affected to patronize, ſtood up, and moved, that the prince ſhould reign alone. In this he was only followed by the lord Culpepper, a man of a profligate character: and the earl of Danby's motion, that the prince and princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared king and queen, was carried by a majority of twenty; the numbers being ſixty-five to twenty-five †.

Vote for declaring the prince and princeſs of Orange king and queen.

The houſe now proceeded to take into conſideration the adjuſting the oath of allegiance; and the form of the oath having run in the ſtyle of ſwearing allegiance to the king, as a rightful and lawful king, it was objected by lord Nottingham, and the high Tories, that theſe words imported a precedent title in the ſovereign, but could not apply to the

† A very large proteſt was entered againſt theſe two votes.

prince

prince, whoſe only title was the voice of the people. The ſucceſsful party, contented with the triumph they had gained, entered into no contention on this whimſical opinion; and it was agreed, that the oath ſhould be, in general, to bear true allegiance to king William and queen Mary; a conceſſion, which, like all other deviations from principle, produced confuſion and diſcordance, confounded the diſtinctions between the friends and the foes of government, and by pointing out to thoſe who were in the intereſts of James, the diſtinction between a king de facto, and a king de jure, led them to think they were juſtified in ſwearing allegiance to one prince, at the time they maintained that the right to the crown was in another, and that they were obliged to defend that, whenever he was in a capacity to aſſert it. Ann. 1688.

The day immediately following theſe important determinations, the lords ſo entirely departed from the former ſenſe of the houſe, and ſo entirely conformed to the hints flung out in the prince of Orange's converſation, that they in a manner conferred the excluſive ſovereignty on their deliverer, by reſolving, that notwithſtanding the joint ſovereignty of the prince and princeſs of Orange, that the full regal power ſhould be in the prince alone, in the name of both; and by farther reſolving, that upon the deceaſe of the prince and princeſs, the crown ſhould belong to the heirs of the body of the princeſs; and, in default of ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs Anne, and the heirs of her body; and, in default of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of the prince of Orange; and in default of ſuch iſſue, to the perſon who ſhould be named in ſuch manner as ſhould be limited and regulated by act of parliament; and in default of ſuch regulation, to the heirs of the prince of Orange.

As

Ann. 1688. As the public were at firſt unacquainted with the reaſons which had operated on the lords, they were a good deal ſurpriſed at the inſtability of thoſe counſels in theſe wiſe legiſlators, which could paſs from an appearance of diſcord at their conference with the commons in the morning, to ſuch an entire union of ſentiments in their votes in the afternoon: but when their reſolutions were ſent to the commons for their concurrence, this more cautious aſſembly delayed the perfecting a final and irrevocable ſettlement of the crown, until a declaration of the rights of the ſubject on the chief articles of diſpute between the late king and his people were adjuſted; and though every obſtruction was thrown in their way by the enemies of reformation, and by ſome of the hot-headed revolutioniſts, who preſſed them to expedite the ſecurity of their preſent ſtate of felicity, by placing William without conditions on the throne, and who endeavoured to perſuade them, that it would be an eaſy matter to obtain by bills the redreſs of theſe grievances after the ſettlement was completed; yet the commons, who had been taught by the experience of what followed the reſtoration of Charles the Second, that it was a much eaſier thing to make kings, than to limit their prerogatives after they were made, ſpent ſix days in perfecting what was called the new frame of government; a time, which, it muſt be acknowledged, was very ſhort and inadequate to ſo important an undertaking: and, accordingly, ſome reſolutions which had paſſed during the debates of the houſe, and which were confined merely to the flagrant violations which had been made in the conſtitution, without any of thoſe enlargements of popular privileges, or limitations of power, which might have prevented future abuſe, were tacked together and ſent to the lords for their approbation; and when both houſes were come to an agreement

ment on the ſubject, they were digeſted into an inſtrument called the Declaration of Rights, which maintained that the ſuſpending and diſpenſing power, as exerciſed by king James, was unlawful; that all courts of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, all levying of money, all ſtanding armies in time of peace, without conſent of parliament, were unlawful; that all grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction; all juries of perſons not qualified, or fairly choſen, were unlawful; that all juries for trials of treaſon, by perſons not freeholders, were unlawful; which aſſerted the freedom of election to parliament, the freedom of ſpeech in parliament, the right of the ſubject to bear arms, and to petition his ſovereign, which provided that exceſſive bails ſhould not be required, that exceſſive fines ſhould not be impoſed, that cruel and inhuman puniſhments ſhould not be inflicted, and that parliaments ſhould be frequently aſſembled. Ann. 1689. Declaration of rights.

It is remarkable that the Whigs of the houſe of commons, in the very zenith of their power, when they had forced their antagoniſts in both houſes to agree to the vacancy of the throne, had ſtill ſuch a reſpect for the principles of the Tories, as to ſtrike off that part of the declaration of the lords, which, in default of the princeſs of Denmark's iſſue, put the nomination of the ſucceſſor in the hands of the parliament; and in default of ſuch nomination in the heirs of the prince of Orange: it is likewiſe remarkable that they alſo afforded a high triumph to the unfortunate James, by not condemning the exerciſe of the ſuſpending and diſpenſing powers †, but only as they had been exerciſed by this monarch, who triumphed yet more eſſen-

† Theſe powers in the crown were afterwards taken away by an act of parliament.

Ann. 1689. tially on a circumſtance which more ſtrongly affected his character; for, notwithſtanding that cruel accuſation of impoſing a ſuppoſititious child on his people and family, ſo ſtrongly intimated in the prince of Orange's declaration, and ſo univerſally adopted by Whig and Tory, both theſe factions, on the conviction that a parliamentary inquiry on the ſubject would only end in expoſing their injuſtice and the king's innocence, agreed to throw a veil over the matter; and when ſuch an enquiry was propoſed by the friends of James, it was rejected by the unanimous voice of both houſes.

Arrival of the princeſs of Orange; her conduct and character.

THE very ſame day on which the inſtrument of government, containing the tender of the crown, and the declaration of rights, paſſed the two houſes, the princeſs of Orange arrived in the river. It was ſuſpected by the public that ſhe had been detained on purpoſe in Holland till the debates were over; but the prince knew that he had nothing to fear from his wife's ambition. By the means of Burnet, who propoſed it as a neceſſary ſacrifice to induce William to engage in the undertaking, ſhe had been prevailed on to promiſe to give up her pretenſions to the prince's intereſt; a promiſe which was ſo well kept on her part, that when Danby, on the ſuſpicion of her detainment, had ſent her a letter, with an aſſurance that if ſuch was her inclination, his party was ſtrong enough to place her alone on the throne, ſhe not only expreſſed diſpleaſure at thoſe who attempted to diſunite her intereſt with that of her huſband's, but tranſmitted the letter to him.

HAD there been any ſpark of ambition in Mary's diſpoſition, her prudence might have led her to accept of a ſecondary importance in the ſtate, on the proſpect of poſſeſſing

the completion of her wiſhes, after the death of the prince, whoſe ſickly conſtitution promiſed no long term of years, rather than hold an independent power on ſo ſlippery a footing as the diſtracted ſtate of parties threatened, in caſe that William ſhould abſolutely refuſe his ſupport; but though Mary was very well acquainted with the churliſh ambition of her huſband, yet, in this point, ſhe was in a great meaſure influenced by the notions ſhe had conceived of conjugal fidelity and domeſtic ſubordination, which, it muſt be owned, carried her to an unpardonable length in the breach of truſt to a perſon who profeſſed himſelf devoted to her ſervice, and was ſo ſtrongly reſented by this lord, and by others of the high church, whoſe votes in the houſe of lords had been directed to the placing her in the office of ſupreme governor, as queen or regent, that it facilitated the votes paſſed for the placing the regal power in the perſon of William; the eſtabliſhment of whoſe perſonal intereſt had alſo been greatly facilitated by the acquieſcence of the princeſs Anne, who was not without her partizans among the Tories and high churchmen, and who, after having wavered a conſiderable time, ſometimes aſſerting one thing, and ſometimes another, and denying in the morning the reſolution ſhe had made over night, was at length, by her ſiſter's example, but much more by the influence of the lady Churchill, who, at this time, thought it her intereſt to court the riſing fortune of William, brought entirely to give up her pretenſions to the government after the death of her ſiſter, and to be poſtponed in the ſucceſſion of the crown till after the deceaſe of the two ſovereigns. Ann. 1689.

THE very ſingular ſituation of the princeſs of Orange occaſioned her behaviour to be very particularly attended to

Ann. 1689. when ſhe entered the palace, where great multitudes of all ranks were gathered together to receive her; but in this ſituation, which above all others required the niceſt delicacy of conduct, ſhe betrayed a womaniſh levity, which carried ſuch an indecent diſrepect to an unhappy father, whoſe rights ſhe was about to aſſume, that it gave great advantage both to the warm friends of the preſent and the late king, as it, in ſome ſort, juſtified the firſt for the affront they had put upon her in placing the adminiſtration of the regal power ſo entirely in the hands of her huſband, as to leave it in his option, in caſe of abſence, to exclude her from the regency, by nominating another to the office; and afforded an opportunity to the latter to draw down the tear of ſympathy for the fate of a prince, to whoſe misfortunes were added the mortification of having ſo unnatural a daughter.

Burnet, who admired the natural gentleneſs of Mary's diſpoſition, who reſpected the rectitude of her manners and the qualities of her heart, took the liberty of giving her a friendly hint on the cenſures ſhe had incurred by teſtifying his ſurprize that a revolution, ſo fatal to her father's fortunes, ſhould make no ſerious impreſſion on her. Mary excuſed herſelf on the plea that the letters which had been written to her, requiring that ſhe ſhould not give countenance to the reports which prevailed that ſhe was diſſatisfied with the treatment of her father, and the ſettlement of the government, by any diſcontent or dejection of countenance, had carried her into the other extreme, becauſe ſhe had been obeying directions, and acting a part which was not natural to her. Burnet's free expoſtulation on the ſubject, though taken with great good humour, had not the effect of preventing Mary's ſubjecting herſelf to a variety of well-grounded cenſures on

the blind obedience ſhe paid to every perverſe and capricious inclination, and every intereſted command of the prince †. By her ſeverity to her uncles Clarendon and Rocheſter, ſhe expreſſed a reſentment for what her huſband regarded as injuries, but what he affected not to feel; and in the harſh treatment of the princeſs Anne, which took its riſe from the favour and protection ſhewn by this princeſs to the Churchill family, when in diſgrace with William, and to the very natural endeavours ſhe made to obtain an independent revenue, a harſhneſs which continued during the whole life of Mary, and which manifeſts that neither the ties of blood, the dearneſs of friendſhip, or the feelings of gratitude, had any weight in the balance of her judgment, when put in competition with the will of a huſband, whoſe politics always led him to throw on his wife the expreſſion of thoſe perſonal reſentments which he, on reaſons of policy, thought proper to ſuppreſs. Ann. 1689.

It was fortunate for the reputation of Mary that the neceſſary abſence of William in Ireland, at a time when the reſentment of the Whigs, the prejudices of the Tories, and a threatened invaſion from France, by producing a very dangerous criſis for the intereſts of the new ſettlement, placed her in a ſituation favourable to the diſcovery of her real character; and though ſhe appears to be a little tinctured

† Whilſt the court of England were in ſuſpence as to the intentions of the prince of Orange, Mary, though a woman of natural integrity, anſwered her father's letters in a manner calculated to diſpel all jealouſy from his mind, and, in order to do full juſtice to that candour which is apparent in this prince, through the whole ſtate of his humiliation, it is to be obſerved that he never paſſed any cenſure on theſe and other ſimilar provocations, in the conduct of the princeſs of Orange towards him; whereas he highly blamed the behaviour of his daughter Anne, which was entirely guided by her own humour and the influence of her favourites.

with

Ann. 1689. with the family notions of regal power, yet, in the exerciſe of the office of regent, ſhe diſplayed a fortitude of mind, a ſtrength of judgment, an attention in the management of public affairs, an acuteneſs and ſagacity of parts, which manifeſted that ſhe would have filled the throne with an equal degree of dignity, and with as great an advantage to the people as any one of the moſt boaſted ſucceſſors to the Norman Conqueror.

MARY's education, in that eſſential part which reſpects the cultivation of the mind, had been very defective; but we are told by Burnet, that during the time of her abode in Holland ſhe applied herſelf with great induſtry to the ſtudy of books, and ſhe made ſo great a progreſs in that part of theology which concerned the points of diſpute between the papiſts and the Engliſh epiſcopalians, as at leaſt to be a match for her father in the management of the argument. To theſe endowments of the mind were united in Mary an unblemiſhed rectitude of manners, a piety unaffected, though ſomewhat tainted with the ſuperſtition of high-church notions, and a ſuperiority of principle over ambition, which would have led her, according to the opinion of lord Nottingham, to have attempted, on the demiſe of William, the reſtoration of her father to the regal power on ſuch terms of reſtriction, as might have preſerved the liberties and religion of the nation. With theſe qualities of the head and heart, Mary poſſeſſed a ſoul ſo well adapted to the entertainment of the ſofter paſſions, as to maintain a very extraordinary and even romantic affection for a very diſagreeable, and a very churliſh huſband †, who ſeemed, in no reſpect, calculated to in-

† The warm and ſteady affection which Mary always preſerved for her huſband would lead a candid mind to ſuſpect that there was much of party malice in the accounts

inſpire or to cheriſh the ſentiments either of love or friend- Ann. 1689.
ſhip. Had Mary always exerted that independence of conduct which reaſon authoriſes, and principle exacts, her virtues would have been ſullied with as ſmall an alloy of frailty as is perhaps compatible with the human character; but as the whole tenor of her conduct ſeems to have been directed by the blind rule of an indiſcriminate obedience, ſhe cannot be claſſed among the illuſtrious characters which have done the higheſt honour to the human race, except by thoſe who imagine that paſſive obedience to huſbands ſtands the foremoſt in the liſt of female duties, and is the higheſt virtue to which any woman can aſpire.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE conduct of the prince with regard to Scotland did equal honour to his political abilities, as the manner in which he had obtained the regal dignity in England, becauſe it carried an equal appearance of moderation and regard to the free and unbiaſſed judgment of the nation. Immediately after the flight of James, when the ſpirits of his friends were at the loweſt ebb, the hopes of his enemies the moſt ſanguine, and when the lukewarm and indifferent were, by this incident, inſtructed where to pay their court to the moſt advantage, all the Scotchmen of any rank and conſequence, who at this intereſting period were to be found in London, were ſummoned before the prince, in or-

counts given of the unamiableneſs of the prince of Orange's behaviour towards her; but theſe accounts are, in a great meaſure, authoriſed by a narrative of the earl of Nottingham's, in which is mentioned a very ſevere reprimand given in public, and in a very rude and churliſh manner, by William to the queen; and they receive a yet higher authority from what has fallen from the pen of biſhop Burnet, who relates that the prince and princeſs of Orange had been on very ill terms together for ſome time previous to the promiſe ſhe made of reſigning her rights in the government of England to the prince. Dalrymple's Appendix. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

der

Ann. 1689. der to conſult on the beſt means to preſerve their religion and liberties. This aſſembly, conſiſting of thirty peers and eighty commoners, choſe the duke of Hamilton for their preſident; but ſo careful was this temporizing nobleman in avoiding the being drawn into pains and penalties by the ſpeciouſneſs of appearances, that, whilſt determined on his own part to pay court to the preſent authority, his ſon, the earl of Arran, acted in the very oppoſite character, and was the only member who aſſumed ſufficient ſpirit to avow the opinion, that James ought to be invited back, on conditions. Though no immediate notice was taken of this bold propoſal, yet a pretence was ſoon found to confine the earl of Arran to the Tower; and the aſſembly unanimouſly agreed to invite the prince to take upon him the adminiſtration of the affairs of Scotland until a convention of eſtates, to be ſummoned by his authority, ſhould, upon the ſixteenth of March, be aſſembled.

NOTWITHSTANDING the unanimity of opinions which appeared in favour of the prince, the real principles of this aſſembly were ſo highly ſuſpected, that care was taken to detain all the members in London till they had kiſſed hands on William's elevation to the Engliſh throne; for though the way from Scotland to England was open to all, yet the road from England to Scotland was, by particular orders, on the pretence of public ſafety, ſtopped up. By a policy yet more obviouſly neceſſary, and more conſonant to the civil rights of the nation, care was taken in the aſſembling the Scotch convention to take off all thoſe reſtrictions on the freedom of elections, with which they had been fettered in the laſt reigns; and, according to expectation, the Preſbyterian, or what was called the Whig intereſt, every where pre-

vailed, and a large majority of members were returned, who, from principle and the reſentment of injuries, were altogether inimical to the royal cauſe. Ann. 1689.

During that interval of time between the placing the adminiſtration of Scotland in the hands of William, and the meeting of the Scotch convention, an incident aroſe which, though of little importance in itſelf, deſerves the notice of hiſtory, becauſe it gave riſe to a more material innovation on the freedom of the conſtitution, than had attended all the revolutions from the period of the Norman conqueſt, to the abdication of James.

William, who had entertained ſtrong ſuſpicions of the Engliſh and Scotch troops, had reſolved to ſend over a large corps of both nations to Holland, in order to replace ſome of his Dutch guards, on whoſe fidelity he entirely relied; but no ſooner was this intention made public, than a general murmur aroſe, and the regiments which were to be ſent abroad began to form a train of communication with each other for aſſembling and retiring to Scotland, where the new government had not yet been recognized by the voice of a free parliament. The Engliſh, who are always ſlow in action, yet flippant and petulant in converſation, contented themſelves with diſcourſing on the manner in which theſe things might be performed; but when the matter was ſuggeſted to the Scotch, the two regiments, known at preſent by the name of the Scotch Greys and the Royal Scotch, who had been yet further irritated by the appointment of marſhal Schomberg to the command of the regiment in the room of their favourite officer lord Dunbarton, than without any heſitation or deliberation on the difficulty of the Dalrymple's Memoirs.

Ann. 1689. enterprize, they were in an inſtant in motion; and having diſarmed the few officers who oppoſed the ſentiments of the majority, and ſeized the money provided for the pay of the regiments, they, with drums beating and colours flying, marched off from Ipſwich, the deſtined place of their embarkation, in order to make the beſt of their way through England into Scotland. The panic which this ſmall body of men every where raiſed, even in places which it was not probable they ſhould viſit, does very little honour to the martial ſpirit of the Engliſh; and it filled the mind of William, who dreaded a general revolt, with ſuch apprehenſions, that he inſtantly communicated the event to the two houſes of parliament. The two houſes of parliament were ſeized with an equal alarm, and in an addreſs, which they made to the throne, they termed the mutiny of the Scotch regiments a rebellion, and adviſed the king to iſſue a proclamation againſt the fugitives as traitors. The houſe of commons gave leave to all their members, who were officers of the army, to repair to their ſtations; and the ſame day on which they received the king's meſſage, they haſtened to vote the Dutch bill of charges in the cauſe of the revolution.

On the intelligence that general Ginkle was advancing againſt them at the head of three regiments of dragoons, and one regiment of horſe, and that orders had been iſſued out for the counties to obſtruct and harraſs their march, the mutineers took their way through the Iſle of Ely, in the hope of avoiding, by the advantage of a fenny country, the attacks of the cavalry. The ſtrong apprehenſions which this revolt had occaſioned in thoſe counties through which it was expected the mutineers would paſs, anſwered all the purpoſes of the government. The paſſage through the Iſle of

was in a manner totally obſtructed by the breaking up of bridges, the breaking up of roads, and the throwing large trees acroſs the highways; and the mutineers, on finding themſelves in want of proviſions, in danger of being encloſed between a militia in front, and a regular army which hung on their rear, alſo on the receiving intelligence that their confederates in England, inſtead of imitating their example, were preparing to defend that cauſe which they had engaged to oppoſe, began to loſe all ſpirits. The officers, who feared that they ſhould be ſelected as objects of puniſhment for that mutiny which their authority might have prevented, propoſed that the whole body ſhould die with their arms in their hands; but the common men, who hoped impunity from their inſignificance, refuſing to attend to the dictates of an unavailing deſpair, threw down their arms, and all ſurrendered at diſcretion; a conduct which they had no cauſe to repent: for William, either out of generoſity or policy, inflicted no other puniſhment than diſmiſſing ſome of the officers, and ſending the regiments to the original place of deſtination. The whole forfeiture for the offence committed by theſe deſperadoes fell at large on the public, by producing a law which made an important innovation in the Engliſh conſtitution; viz. the act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion; an act which gave a legal ſanction to the eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding army, which had hitherto rather been overlooked than acknowledged by parliament. This act was limited to the ſpace of one year; but it has ever ſince been annually renewed, and though the renewal is made in terms which point out a ſtanding army as a dangerous and illegal inſtrument of government, yet it has gained ſo firm a footing in the conſtitution, that the renewal is conſidered as a matter of courſe, and the form Ann. 1689.

Ann. 1689. ſerves only to furniſh a ſmall band of patriots with popular arguments, againſt an engine of power which has never failed to deſtroy the liberties of every ſociety wherever it has been admitted. To theſe forcible arguments miniſters have always advanced the double plea of expediency and neceſſity; but it is worth while to obſerve, that in plain contradiction to arguments which have been conſtantly and repeatedly urged, for a ſeries of near one hundred years, the Britiſh miniſtry of the year 1779, in the heat of the American conteſt, left the nation without ten thouſand men, either of militia or regular troops, to defend it, although we were at war with a neighbour, whoſe vicinity and ſtrength had always been made the ſpecious pretext for continuing that evil which our anceſtors, in the times of the higheſt ſervility, could never endure; and who had, with impunity for many ages, truſted to a force more equally adapted to ſupport the rights of their country from foreign enemies and domeſtic tyranny.

When the convention met at Edinburgh, the Whig intereſt was found to predominate in a manner which gave the party an opportunity to render themſelves more formidable, by excluding in their committee of elections all the returns of the oppoſite party to which any probable objection could be made: a management which, it was ſaid, was carried on with ſo little of even the appearance of candor, that the duke of Hamilton, who was choſen preſident, refuſed his countenance to theſe proceedings, which, though they carried the face of a diſhoneſt chicanery, it muſt be allowed were a kind of neceſſary retaliation to all thoſe violent and illegal oppreſſions which the party had ſuffered from the rage of the Tories.

When

When the convention ſat down, two letters were preſent- Ann. 1689.
ed, the one from the late, and the other from the preſent king. The convention, after paſſing an act that nothing contained in the letter from James ſhould diſſolve their aſſembly, or ſtop their proceedings to the ſettlement of the nation, gave the diſpatches of the two ſovereigns a reading; but affecting to be very highly offended with the ſtyle in which James delivered his ſentiments, and alſo with the counterſignature of lord Melfort, a papiſt, they did not deign to give his letter a reply: whereas, the letter received from the new Engliſh ſovereign, was anſwered in ſtrains of gratitude and reſpect; and, to give the greater mark of attention, the convention appointed lord Roſs to be the meſſenger, in order to ſecure themſelves from that violence which was to be apprehended from the reſentment or deſpair of the Tories. The convention iſſued a proclamation, ordering all men, from the age of ſixteen to ſixty, to be ready in arms when called upon; arrayed and armed the militias of the ſouthern counties, and gave the command of them to thoſe on whom they could depend; raiſed taxes, levied troops, and accepted the offers of zealous Whigs to raiſe more; ſent arms and ammunition to the proteſtants in the north of Ireland, and, upon a report that an invaſion was threatened from that quarter, they erected beacons on the high grounds, ordered the cattle to be driven from the coaſts, laid an embargo on ſhips going to Ireland without their permiſſion, directed the ſheriffs to ſeize all whom they found in arms, gave a parliamentary ſanction to the addreſs made by their countrymen to the prince of Orange, and named a committee for the laying down a plan for the ſettlement of the government.

During

Ann. 1689. Dalrymple's Memoirs.

DURING theſe proceedings, ſome fruitleſs endeavours were made by the Tories to interrupt by force and ſtratagem what they could not obſtruct by parliamentary influence. The duke of Gordon was prevailed on, by the perſuaſions of lord Balcarras and lord Dundee, to refuſe the ſurrender of the caſtle of Edinburgh; and when the duke, from prudential motives, refuſed to fire on the city in order to diſſolve the convention, a plan was formed to diſtract the proceedings of this aſſembly, by ſummoning a new one to meet at Stirling, under the authority of an eſpecial commiſſion from James, entruſted with the archbiſhop of Glaſgow. The diſcovery of this intention to the leaders of the party in power, by the means of the marquis of Athole, who was entruſted with the ſecret, and who, with the lord Marr, governor of Stirling-Caſtle, had promiſed their attendance and co-operation, threw lord Dundee, who plumed himſelf with having inherited the ſpirit, as well as the blood, of the marquis of Montroſe, into a ſtate of furious deſperation. He carried a complaint to the convention, that ſome of the covenanters had entered into a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate him for his former ſeverities againſt that party; and, on finding his complaint treated with neglect, and even his courage reflected on, he left the aſſembly in a rage, mounted his horſe, and with a troop of fifty cavalry, who had deſerted to him from his regiment in England, gallopped through the city. On his being aſked by one of his friends, where he was going in that hurry, he waved his hat, and anſwered, Wherever the ſpirit of Montroſe ſhall lead me. In paſſing under the walls of the caſtle, Dundee ſuddenly ſtopped, and diſmounting from his horſe, climbed up a precipice which led to the fortreſs, and held a conference with the duke of Gordon at the poſtern gate. The novelty of the ſight drew a multitude together at the foot of the rock where

where the conference was held; and whilſt Dundee was vainly endeavouring to prevail with the duke to retire with him into the Highlands, to raiſe his vaſſals to arms, and leave the command of the caſtle to Winram the lieutenant-governor, an alarm was ſpread in the city, that the multitude aſſembled before the caſtle were the adherents of Dundee; and news was carried to the convention, that this officer was at the gates of the city with an army, and had prevailed on the governor of the caſtle to fire on the town. The real ſtate of the caſe was well known to the duke of Hamilton, but like a good politician, he did not fail to make the moſt of the occaſion to rid the aſſembly of the adverſe party. The doors of the houſe were ordered to be ſhut, the keys to be laid on the table: the preſident cried out, that there was danger within as well as without, and that traitors muſt be held in confinement till the threatened ſtorm was blown over, but that the friends of liberty had nothing to fear, for that thouſands were ready to ſtart up in their defence at the ſtamp of his foot. Directions were now given for the drums to beat, and the trumpets to ſound through the city. In an inſtant, a large multitude of the inhabitants of the weſtern counties, who had been ſecretly brought into town by Sir John Dalrymple, and who had been hitherto hid in garrets and cellars, appeared in arms. The noiſe and tumult in the town grew louder and louder; and after ſome hours, when the uproar among the populace was at the higheſt, the doors of the houſe of parliament were thrown open, the Whig members as they went out were received with acclamations, and thoſe of the oppoſite party with ſuch threats and curſes from an enraged and prepared populace, that the greater number of the adherents of James either changed ſides, or, quitting their ſtations in the convention, retired into the country. Ann. 1689.

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Ann. 1689. THE Whig party, thus left to themſelves, proceeded to ſettle the government; and after ſome debate, whether they ſhould proceed on the grounds of an union between the two kingdoms, or leave that matter to be ſettled in times better adapted to the diſcuſſion of ſo important a ſubject, the latter opinion prevailed; and much to the honour of the aſſembly, inſtead of amuſing themſelves with ridiculous refinements, which can only tend to perplex the opinion of the vulgar, in regard to the grand point of political obedience, and continue to all generations the more refined diſtinctions of party and the jargon of ſchool policy, they came to a reſolution that king James had, by his ill government, forefaulted his right to the crown: but as this term, according to the language of the law of Scotland, implied the excluſion of all his poſterity, as well as his own, it was afterwards agreed that the word forefault in the reſolution, ſhould imply no other alteration in the ſucceſſion of the crown, than the ſecluſion of king James, the pretended prince of Wales, and the children which ſhould be procreated of either of their bodies.

AFTER theſe deciſive votes againſt the government of James, and his male iſſue, the convention made an offer of the crown of Scotland to William and Mary; but, not to be behind hand with the Engliſh parliament in a due regard to the future ſecurity of public liberty, they accompanied the offer with ſuch a declaration of rights, as laid open all the invaſions on the conſtitution which had been made ſince the reſtoration of monarchy in the perſon of Charles the Second, and which aſcertained every diſputed pretenſion between the crown and the ſubject.

THE

THE dethronement of king James, and the completion of the Revolution in the ſettlement of the crowns of England and Scotland on the prince and princeſs of Orange, &c. has formed an epocha in the annals of our country, ſo univerſally celebrated by the voice of all factions, that a writer muſt be poſſeſſed of the enthuſiaſm of a martyr, whoſe regard for the ſtrict letter of truth, leads to neglect or to contradict the opinion of his countrymen on this important ſubject, and who does not, like the humble petitioners to the throne, uſher in a long liſt of grievances, with panegyrical compliments on the cauſe, and the ſource of thoſe evils on which he animadverts. Theſe are contradictions which are very eaſily ſwallowed in modern hiſtory, where a reader never looks for, or even deſires inſtruction, and expects at the expence of the real and ſound reputation of the unfortunate writer, and of every principle of truth on which uſeful inſtruction can be founded, to be indulged in all his vain, ridiculous, and deſtructive prejudices. Mr. Hume, who is aſſiduouſly careful not to offend in any point of popular recommendation, gives the prince of Orange great credit for the not uſing any undue influence, or the not putting any apparent conſtraint on the convention, from the authority of whoſe reſolution he was admitted to ſovereignty. It is, however, certain, that the perverſe prejudices of faction, the tickliſh ſituation of affairs in Ireland, and the fear of being left in the lurch by their deliverer, if he was not gratified to the utmoſt extent of his ambition, induced the Whigs to give way to the ſettlement of the crown, without adding any new trophies to the altar of liberty, or even of renovating thoſe ſound principles in the conſtitution, which, in the length of time, had fallen a ſacrifice to the luſts and the opportunities

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Obſervations on the Revolution and the conduct of king William.

Ann. 1689. of power. A repeal of the disfranchising statute of Henry the Sixth; a revival of the statute of Edward the Third for annual parliaments, with a bill to prevent those from sitting in parliament who are interested in defending all measures of government, whether good or bad, and who find in the emoluments of office, advantages arising from the distress and burthens of the people, were so necessary to the rendering the British constitution, as explained in the Bill of Rights, the best of all possible constitutions, that it opens a wider field for more corrupt abuses, than ever were produced by all the monarchical, oligarchical, and aristocratical tyrannies in the world; because, under the specious appearance of democratical privilege, the people are really and truly enslaved to a small part of the community, and in the first instance are sold by a set of wretches, whose paucity of numbers place them within the compass of bribery, whose dependant situations hardly allow them a freedom of choice, in what is called the right of election; whose ignorance, on a supposition of honesty, renders them very inadequate to the trust reposed in them by the constitution, and whose needy situations, and obscure conditions, cause a small pecuniary temptation to be of more balance in the scale of the mind, than every public mischief which it is possible to ensue from the most abandoned venality *.

These

* The method of destroying corruption in the first instance by cutting off the small boroughs, by which even one dependant elector sends as many members to parliament as a large county; the extending the right of election, and adding to the county members, has been so ably set forth in several pamphlets, that I shall only add, that if this scheme should fail of preventing the abuses of corruption, the introducing the mode of election by ballot, a mode used in every wise government in all cases of election, would infallibly remedy the ruinous evil; an evil grown to such an enormous height, that many gentlemen who are in the possession of boroughs, by

THESE important grievances, and an endleſs variety of miſ- Ann. 1689.
chiefs, which from the ſame ſource, neceſſarily branch out into as endleſs a variety of ſucceſſive ills all tending to the ruin of public virtue, to the diſcouragement and total diſappointment of real merit, and to the reward of villainy and the worſt ſpecies of corruption, did not eſcape the vigilant attention of patriotiſm at the period of the revolution: but whilſt the friends of liberty in general exclaimed, that the Bill of Rights was very inadequate to what ought to have been inſiſted on in a period ſo favourable to the enlargement and ſecurity of liberty, as a crown beſtowed by the free voice of the people, thoſe members of the convention, who had been moſt active in indulging the wiſhes of William, in regard to an undivided ſovereignty and undiminiſhed prerogatives, hoped to obtain from his gratitude, his good ſenſe, and their preſent ſtate of power and conſequence, all thoſe advantages which they had for the preſent ſacrificed to the exigence of the occaſion, or rather to the earneſt deſire of ſhutting every door of hope to the reſtoration of the exiled family.

TO the inexpreſſible grief of the Whigs they found, in the ſhort ſpace of a year, that they had been entirely miſtaken in the notions they had formed of the character of William, and their own importance; they had the mortification of ſeeing thoſe who had acted the moſt inimical to their party, and the free principles of the conſtitution, viz. the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Danby, and the lord Nottingham,

by the ſituation of their landed property, bring them to market on every new parliament, and ſell them to the miniſter, from the ſums of five to ten thouſand pounds.

Ann. 1689. taken into the boſom of their hero, reſume their places in the cabinet †, and alſo the whole influence of government extended to the ſilencing all enquiries into the guilt of thoſe perſons who had been the chief inſtruments in the cruel perſecutions in the late reign, and to the obtainment of ſuch an act of indemnity as ſhould effectually ſcreen every delinquent, however notorious, from the juſt vengeance of injured patriotiſm.

A CONDUCT thus calculated to inſpire reſentment, and raiſe ſuſpicion, did not fail to rouſe the indignation and jealouſy of the Whig party to the higheſt pitch of oppoſition. So great was their preſent diſtruſt of William, that they even joined with the church to diſappoint the preſbyterians of what had been promiſed them by all parties, namely, a comprehenſion; becauſe they apprehended, that William would acquire influence over a body who were at preſent the moſt inimical to his pretenſions, by the addition of members who would look up to him as their patron, and who, from a ſimilarity of religious principle, would be naturally inclined to a perſonal attachment. They ſtood firm to the reſolution they had formed of avoiding the errors made by the parliaments in the late reigns, of granting the crown an independent revenue; and they took meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the oppoſition of the Tories, by adding to the bill for reſtoring corporations to their original rights, a clauſe, which, during the ſpace of ſeven years, diſabled

† Even the cruel and profligate Kirke was taken into the ſervice of the new government, and ſent over to exerciſe thoſe barbarities in Ireland, which he had formerly exerciſed on the ſubjects in England.

from the right of electors in corporations all perſons who had been any wiſe acceſſary to the new modelling them. Ann. 1689.

The equity and moderation of this clauſe could not eaſily be diſputed; and William finding himſelf on the point of falling into the hands of a party who were determined ſo effectually to circumſcribe his power, as ſhould give reality and permanence to that liberty which had been declared to be the only object of his views, deſires, and undertakings, broke like an enraged lion from the toils of patriotiſm, flung off that party with whom he had been cloſely connected, with whom he had ſucceſsfully intrigued during the preceding reigns, and by whoſe zeal and activity he had been elevated to the ſtate of ſovereignty, threw himſelf entirely into the hands of men againſt whom it was pretended his hoſtilities had been ſolely directed, diſſolved the parliament, took upon himſelf the command of the forces in Ireland, and left the queen, and her friends the Tories, to confirm the victory gained over the Whigs.

The neglect of not carrying the Scotch claim of rights into execution, had raiſed ſuch a flame of reſentment in that nation, as actually to give riſe to a conſpiracy in favour of the abdicated king; who, had he been at liberty to have purſued theſe advantages by the dictates of common policy, might have returned to the poſſeſſion of his dominions with as large a majority of voices in his favour, as that by which he had been expelled: but William, happily delivered from the difficulties into which his ingratitude had plunged him by the unfavourable ſituation of his rival, viz. his ſtate of abſolute dependence on the popiſh intereſt in Ireland, and on the French court,

Ann. 1689. court, was, at length, enabled by the national antipathies of one party, the remembrance of paſt perſecutions in the other, and the fears of popery in all, to defeat every plan of reformation which had been formed in the generous warmth of patriotiſm by the Whigs; to carry every point of perſonal ambition; to ſecure an independent revenue on the crown; to burthen the nation with a ſtanding debt, and a ſtanding army; to involve it, contrary to the intereſt of a commercial maritime power, in expenſive land armaments; and, laſtly, to entail on poſterity a perpetuity of thoſe internal diviſions which had taken their riſe from the civil contentions in the reign of Charles the Firſt, and which, in the two laſt reigns, had brought the three kingdoms on the brink of ſlavery and perdition.

WHAT fatal encroachments the new ſyſtem introduced by William has made in the ancient conſtitution of England; what an unexampled mode of tyranny it has eſtabliſhed; what an univerſal depravity of manners it has occaſioned, muſt be left to the detail of hiſtory to deſcribe; and as it is impoſſible for an hiſtorian not initiated in the ſacred myſteries of miniſterial craft to give any ſatisfactory account of that complicated ſyſtem of corruption by which the affairs of this country has been conducted through the ſeventeenth century, it is fully ſufficient to obſerve that it has baniſhed from the helm of government every ſpecies of abilities but thoſe which belong to financiering; that is, a dexterity in deviſing new modes of pecuniary oppreſſion, and a ſkilful uſe of the public money for the deſtruction of that independence in parliament on which the ſecurity and ſafety of the people neceſſarily depend. Under ſuch circumſtances

cumſtances of adminiſtration, it is no wonder that the internal and external good of ſociety ſhould have been entirely neglected; that the natural reſources of a great commercial ſtate, though yearly declining in its vigour and ſtrength, ſhould have been miſtaken for the higheſt point of proſperity; and that we ſhould find ourſelves at the brink of political mortality, at the time when we vainly imagined we were exalted above the reach of thoſe calamities which have ever been found to attend the want of wiſdom in counſel, and the loſs of national virtue. Ann. 1689.

THE late earl of Chatham, whoſe ſplendid adminiſtration makes a capital figure in the annals of this country, is univerſally called the miniſter of the people; but whoever accurately traces the ſteps by which this great ſtateſman acquired the neceſſary department in power to render his talents in any extent uſeful to his country, will find that Mr. Pitt, inſtead of having been forced on the crown by the voice of a free people, either in their collective or repreſentative capacity, was, as a neceſſary prelude to his being appointed to the office of prime miniſter, obliged to ſacrifice to the prejudices of the ſovereign all thoſe popular principles which had graced his parliamentary harangues for the ſeries of many years, and which had raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of public favour and eſteem. I ſhall not pretend to criticize on the conduct of a war which was attended with ſuch a brilliant ſucceſs; and ſhall only obſerve, that our large armies on the continent, our numerous ſubſidies to German princes, and the corruptions which have prevailed through the whole ſyſtem of adminiſtration, whilſt they have filled the pockets of needy contractors, and ſwelled

to

Ann. 1689. to an enormous heighth the lucrative appendages to office, oppreſſed the nation with ſuch an additional burthen of taxes and debt, as to forbid any hopes of ſalvation, but from a circumſtance ſo out of the ordinary courſe of ſublunary affairs as to render it a perfect miracle in political hiſtory, viz. a patriot king and a patriot miniſtry co-operating with the body of the people to throw off the ſhackles of ſeptennial parliaments, to reinſtate the people in their conſtitutional right of election, and, by this means, to introduce ſuch a rigid plan of oeconomy, as may, in a proceſs of time, in a great meaſure, reſtore the waſted finances of the country.

Mr. Pitt was ſo ſenſible of the corrupt and laviſh manner in which the buſineſs of the nation was carried on, even when it was ſtruggling under the difficulties of an expenſive war, that he always diſavowed the having any other part in the management of affairs, but the conduct of the military operations: and ſo little independent conſequence did this fortunate miniſter obtain from the brilliant ſucceſſes which had attended his adminiſtration, that he was not ſuffered to crown the expectations of the public by a peace adequate to the expenſive exertions of Great Britain, and the low ſtate to which ſhe had reduced her enemies; and inſtead of being able to carry any one point in favour of the popular intereſt, or the ſecurity of national proſperity, he found himſelf deſerted by that ſeptennial parliament who had lent him their ſupport whilſt the influence of the crown was uſed in his favour; and his ſucceſſor, lord Bute, as firmly ſupported in the concluding an inadequate deſtructive peace, as he had experienced in the conduct of a glorious war.

What

THE fatal conſequences of the laviſh profligacy of thoſe miniſters who declared that the finances of the nation were too far exhauſted even to purſue the career of victory, or to take the proper advantage of enemies who were proſtrate at our feet, this unhappy and deluded country has too ſeverely experienced: but now that the increaſed corruption of adminiſtration, and the unhappy cataſtrophe of the American war, has ſo greatly accelerated the downfall of this empire, as to bring on, in our own days, that ruin which we vainly hoped to eſcape, at the expence of our poſterity; now that the feeling ſenſe of our calamities has brought conviction home to the heart of every diſintereſted citizen, let us not, by throwing a veil over the defects of the revolution, miſlead the judgement of the public in regard to thoſe matters of which it is of the utmoſt importance that they ſhould be well inſtructed; let us not, out of an illiberal partiality to the vices and errors of our progenitors, endeavour to continue thoſe deluſions, by which the vulgar part of ſociety have been led to prefer empty ſounds to ſubſtantial realities, and have been taught to conſider the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover as an advantage adequate to all the bleſſings which flow from good government, and the enjoyment of a well regulated freedom *. "What re- Second Addreſs to the Public from the Society for Conſtitutional Information.
"peated warning," ſays a ſpirited writer, "have we received
"of the increaſing venality of our repreſentatives; and how
"often have we neglected the opportunity of placing the
"public liberty upon a permanent baſis; but ſo long as there

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* The author, in this obſervation, does not intend any diſreſpect to this illuſtrious houſe; but only to cenſure that miniſterial craft, by which this univerſally acknowledged bleſſing has been uſed to give a kind of ſanction to the worſt of meaſures, and to the moſt alarming encroachments on conſtitutional freedom.

Ann. 1689. "could be a doubt concerning the extent of the contagion, "ſo long as our repreſentatives condeſcended to ſpread the "ſlighteſt veil over their infidelity, we acquieſced in the "deceit, and choſe to expect that relief from time which is "only attainable by virtue; as if univerſal experience had "not ſhewn, that the firſt infringement of national rights, "which is permitted with impunity, is the introduction of "every evil; that the attempts of ambition never finiſh but "with the patience of mankind; and that there is no me-"dium between oppoſing the leaſt encroachment, and ſub-"mitting to the greateſt; but with our deluded country-"men every pretext, however futile and ridiculous, has "been alternately ſufficient to quiet their fears, and lull their "jealouſies; ſometimes their liberties have been invaded, "to ſecure them the better againſt the attacks of tyranny; "ſometimes becauſe a patriot king enjoyed the throne; "ſometimes they were perſuaded to forego redreſs, becauſe "the miniſter was embarraſſed with war; ſometimes be-"cauſe he dared not interrupt the public peace; ſome-"times for fear of excluding the people's real friends from "power; ſometimes becauſe the people's real friends had "obtained the power they ſought, and muſt not hazard "its loſs. Wretched nation, that has been induced to make "the diſeaſe inveterate in expectation of a cure, and that "did not underſtand that it was a matter of no conſe-"quence in what name, or by what party, they were en-"ſlaved."

As a cloſe to this long narration of national evils and national follies, ſo conſpicuous in the mournful annals of the two laſt centuries, I appeal to the ingenuous and uncorrupted

corrupted part of my countrymen, which claſs of hiſtorians have been the real friends of the conſtitution; thoſe who, by humouring the prejudices of all factions, have left the judgment of the reader in ſuch an embarraſſed ſtate as to be incapable of forming any juſt opinion of men, of meaſures, or of the true intereſt of their country; or thoſe writers who, like myſelf, in an honeſt contempt of the ill-founded rage and reſentment of all denominations of men and intereſts, have, through the whole courſe of my narrative, cloſely adhered to the pureſt principles of civil and religious freedom; have marked every deviation from conſtitutional rectitude; and have not only pointed out the deſtructive enormities of marked tyrants, but have endeavoured to direct the judgment of the public to the detection of thoſe maſked hypocrites, who, under the ſpecious pretence of public good, have advanced their private intereſt and ambition on the ruin of all that is valuable to man. Ann. 1689.

FINIS.

ERRATUM.

Page 65, line 23 and 24, *dele* the attributes of Pagan deities.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM